The political and economic basis of Kuku-Yalanji social history.

by

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A thesis submitted in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland, Australia, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1984

Except as acknowledged in the text, the work presented in this thesis is my original research, and the material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

J C Anderson.

Jon Christopher Anderson.

Abstract

This thesis is a study of change in the political economy of an Australian Aboriginal population on eastern Cape York Peninsula, Queensland over the period 1880-1980. The study focuses on the primary locus of change, the relationship between the Aboriginal social formation in the area in 1880 and the various interventions of expanding European capitalism from that time on. To characterize this relationship I use the notion of articulation. I outline the nature of the Aboriginal system prior to its articulation with the capitalist mode of production and I identify it as having had two critical elements. Firstly, there were the macro-domestic groups made up of a number of households and associated with particular camps. These were the fundamental political and economic units of the Aboriginal social formation. Secondly, there was the role played by particular individuals in defining and controlling the domestic groups and their reproduction. The conflict between ideology, on the one hand, and the constraints of the forces of production and political competition between these latter individuals, on the other, produced an internal contradiction which was a major dynamic in the pre-contact Aboriginal social formation in this area. It was also a major factor in articulation patterns post-1880. Before examining these patterns, I describe the appearance and operation of the capitalist mode of production in north Queensland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Articulation between this system and the Aboriginal one is viewed as a series of phases or periods each characterised by different features, rather than as continuous linear change over time. I describe two major periods, one of conservation and one of subordination. These periods are described by means of extended case studies of particular Aboriginal camps and domestic groups in southeast Cape York Peninsula. The first period was one in which, partly due to the internal workings of the Aboriginal system and partly due to the level of development and nature of the capitalist mode of production in the area, the former was conserved and aspects of its relations of production were actually reinforced. During the second period, the Aboriginal mode became subordinate to the European system as the reproduction of the domestic groups in the former was dependent on their relationship with the latter. This came about partly through

state intervention. The thesis also adumbrates the beginnings of a possible third period of articulation. This period is not fully described as it only begins as the present study ends. It is characterised by the dissolution of the Aboriginal social formation through the breakdown of most of the domestic groups and the altered relations of production. Apart from demonstrating the beginnings of the dissolution period, the present (the late 1970s) in southeast Cape York Peninsula is shown to be the result not only of the pre-contact Aboriginal system and its dynamics, but also of the social formation of the recent past with its complex articulation patterns and periods of conservation and subordination. The thesis argues for the utility of social analysis in which change is regarded as a central concern and a normal condition, not a peripheral or atypical state for human systems. The thesis also argues for methods of understanding change which combine structure with the dynamics of process and which attempt to explain the basis of structural change as well as continuity.

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Acknowledgements

There are several people at Bloomfield to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude for their part in this work. First and foremostly I would like to mention John Walker, Bob Yerrie and Mabel Webb. They were all patient and thorough teachers, both in the bush and at the mission. I also must mention the personal support and hospitality given me by the late Ivy Walker and her daughters and sons, as well as by Mary Wallace, Dolly Yougie, Lily Yougie, Barbara Turner, Queenie Dick, Eileen Walker and their respective families. I thank too John Mossman for his friendship and his interest in showing me the ropes of everyday Kuku-Yalanji life. There are many other people at Bloomfield who, at various times, have all contributed to this project. Although unfortunately I do not have space to list everyone, I do want to mention the late Charlie Tayley, the late Harry Turner, Reggie King, Billy King, the late Billy Mapoon, Jimmy Ball, Youngaman Yougie, the late Mabel Morse and Charlie Collins. I thank all of them for their time and interest.

I wish to thank Hank and Ruth Hershberger for our many enjoyable and stimulating discussions. I have benefited greatly from their knowledge and long experience of Bloomfield. I am grateful to the late Jack Roberts and his family of Shipton's Flat for the help and information given me by them on various fieldtrips to the upper Annan area. Other people in the Bloomfield area who have provided assistance to me at different stages of my work include Bill Smith, Joe and Pearl Kendrick, Oscar Olufson, Harry Dick, and in Cooktown, Jack Harrigan and his family. Various Bloomfield Mission staff have also willingly given practical help when necessary and for this I thank them.

I am grateful to Peter Ucko, formerly Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra (and now of Southampton University), for initial encouragement to undertake this project. Warwick Dix and other staff of the Institute were helpful at various times throughout my fieldwork. John Taylor, John Campbell and Barrie Reynolds, all of James Cook University, Townsville, Len Webb of Griffith University, John and Leslie Haviland of the Australian National University all provided help and useful advice in the early stages of the work. Diana Eades, Daryl Feil, Ian Keen, Robert Levitus, Peter Sutton and David Trigger (all former or current Brisbane colleagues) have provided me with many stimulating ideas and much support. My co-

ordinating supervisor, Bruce Rigsby of the University of Queensland has aided me through his extensive knowledge of anthropological and other relevant literature and through his able editing skills. I am deeply indebted to my friends and principal supervisors, John von Sturmer (University of New South Wales) and Athol Chase (Griffith University). Both were involved with my introduction to Australian Aboriginal studies and to fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula. With the present work, Athol Chase provided helpful comments on early drafts and aided in final preparation. John Von Sturmer provided a wealth of intellectual stimulation and good advice throughout the course of the thesis.

Funding for fieldwork came principally from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and as well from the Commonwealth Department of Education and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland. Preliminary cartographic work for the thesis was done by Peter Gillan; Roger Cribb did the final figures and maps, and Judy Bieg typed the tables.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, Glen and Benedict Anderson, for their long forebearance with my involvement in this study and for their support and encouragement throughout it.

Conventions

In this thesis I use the term Kuku-Yalanji to refer collectively to the Aboriginal peoples of the Annan and Bloomfield River areas. I avoid the inclusion of terms from Aboriginal languages unless this is important for the discussion or if there is no adequate English gloss. Most informant quotes in indigenous language are given in verbatim form together with a free translation. Most quotes in Aboriginal English have been translated into more or less Standard English where the meaning is unclear or ambiguous. I use the past tense in presenting my data. This is to emphasise the reconstruction aspects of the study and the historical nature of much of the material. I do not imply by this use that certain of the things described are not also part of contemporary Kuku-Yalanji life. In line with personal choice and with the policy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, I use the practical orthography which has been developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and which has been used in a vernacular language education programme at the Bloomfield River State School. It is applicable to most dialects spoken by Kuku-Yalanji people including Kuku-Yalunyu, Kuku-Yanyu, Kuku-Nyungkul and Kuku-Bidiji. The phonemic system is discussed in Oates & Oates (1964); Hershberger & Hershberger (1982) and Patz (1982), and is given below using the practical symbols:

	bilabial	apico-alveolar	apico-postalveolar	lamino-palatal	dorso-velar
stops	b	d		j	k
nasals	m	n		ny	ng
laterals		l			
rhotics		rr (tap/trill)	r (retroflex glide)		
vocalic glides	w			y	

Vowels:
- high front i
- high back u
- low central a

No vowel length.

In this thesis I mostly use the common English names of plants and animals. The exceptions are where there are no generally accepted common names or where the identity of a species is significant or is in some doubt.

Abbreviations used in this thesis are as follows:

M = mother
F = father
B = brother
Z = sister
D = daughter
S = son
H = husband
W = wife

\+ = older
' ' = classificatory relationship
\- = younger

CYP = Cape York Peninsula
ECYP = east Cape York Peninsula
SECYP = southeast Cape York Peninsula
WCYP = west Cape York Peninsula

Q.G.G. = Queensland Government Gazette
V.&P. = Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly
Q.P.P. = Queensland Parliamentary Papers
Q.J.L.C. = Queensland Journals of the Legislative Council
U.E.L.C.A. = United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia
B.R.S.S.A. = Bloomfield River State School Archives

PART 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Chapter I: Introduction.

I.1 The problem.

The world-wide expansion of capitalism since the sixteenth century has partly determined the recent history of all human societies and what they are today. Australia and many of its indigenous inhabitants have been firmly linked with this world political economy for at least two centuries. European capitalist development in the frontier areas of northern and central Australia has occurred principally in the last hundred years. Given this, we might expect to find substantial documentation of the transformations which indigenous groups in such areas have undergone. Yet there are few comprehensive descriptions of the interaction of Europeans and Aboriginal groups in Australia.

To a large extent this is because of the disciplinary separation of anthropology and history (and also because of the late development of sociology in Australia). Anthropologists concentrated on Aboriginal systems exclusively and on models of precontact Aboriginal social structure and belief systems. For this concern there were either no historical sources, or anthropologists perceived them to be irrelevant. Historians, when they wrote of Aborigines at all, were left to deal with what came to be called contact history. Their descriptions were largely devoid of any sense of social system and often characterised - mistakenly as it turns out - Aborigines as culturally homogeneous. Both disciplines generally assumed the uniformity of effects stemming from Europeans and their activities. Both assumed that Aboriginal societies were changing, but it was unproblematic change: either assimilation to European ways and absorption into European society or total disintegration. Neither anthropologists nor historians possessed adequate theories nor the inclination to describe or explain social change. There is a clear need for examination of particular interactions of Aboriginal and European societies which focuses on change, but does not prejudge its nature or direction.

The central concern of this thesis is change, and particularly the changes which occur when one group of people with a given history and social and economic system who live in a particular environment, encounter another group of people with a different history who bring to bear a new set of economic activities on that environment, who introduce

new commodities and who create new forms of social relationships. The focus is on the nature of the problems faced by the former group and the ways in which they attempt to resolve the problems which emerge from the encounter. The aim of the thesis is to address this, a general problematic, through a case study of an Australian Aboriginal group in southeastern Cape York Peninsula (henceforth referred to as SECYP) in north Queensland and its relationship with Europeans and their socio-economic system over a hundred-year period from 1880 to 1980.

The theoretical paradigm on which the work is based is the Marxist-derived one of historical materialism. Historical materialism uses the notion of mode of production as a basic analytical concept. A mode of production is made up of infrastructural elements (the forces and relations of production) and superstructural elements, including ideological structures. Of these, the infrastructural aspects are seen as the primary locus of significant change and the content and form of the latter are largely a function of the relations of production (see Friedman 1974). It is change in the infrastructural elements which will eventually alter significantly and irreversibly other elements of the system. To understand changes of this order is to understand much of how a system transforms itself, is transformed, or disintegrates over time. I use the mode of production concept and its elements to understand the transformations which occurred in the system I describe.

Another important concept I draw from historical materialism is that of articulation. For this I rely primarily on the work of Rey (1971, 1973; and see also Foster-Carter 1978; Bradby 1975; Wolpe 1980). This concept assumes that for most of the world's societies, various modes of production have not occurred in temporally separate stages, but rather have co-existed or have meshed together in some fashion. Social and economic changes over time are described by accounting for the articulation of at least two modes of production. Further, in Rey's usage, the articulation of two modes always involves one establishing dominance over another, "not as a static given, but as a <u>process</u>, that is to say a combat between the two modes of production, with the confrontations and alliances which such a combat implies . . ." (Rey 1971:15). Articulation in this sense is also a process which has relatively distinct stages or phases.

This thesis attempts to understand the processes of change and continuity in a specific case, using the concepts of mode of production and articulation. I describe the nature of the two modes of production involved, and I look at the processes of their articulation. I diverge slightly from the more traditional materialist approach by arguing that a grasp of structure, whether infra- or super-, is still not wholly sufficient for an understanding of change. Although I use the concept of structural contradiction as being the primary and ultimate force for change, I nonetheless also concentrate on social process and examine the relationship that it bears to structural contradiction. I also emphasise here the important role of individuals within such processes. I conclude that only by examining both structure and process can we begin adequately to understand the structural change which occurs because of the articulation of different modes of production.

The project is an ambitious undertaking: partly because of the lack of precedent for a study of this nature in the Australian context, but also because of the wide range of sorts of data which the study demands - from historical to ecological to economic to ethnographic. Use of such disparate data has produced problems of methodology (having to cope with the different methods used by the disciplines involved); problems of comparability of data (for example, where there is a conflict between data from written historical sources and those from oral sources); problems of adequate temporal coverage (lack of data on certain periods, for example, archaeological or other information on the pre-1880 period). Nevertheless, resolving such problems is the only way in which to understand the processes and events which occur with the interaction of different human systems.

The thesis is organized in the following manner: the present chapter (I) outlines the problem dealt with in the thesis and introduces the reader to the general region of Cape York Peninsula and to the SECYP study area itself. Chapter II reviews the literature on the theoretical and analytical issues raised in the study. Chapter III describes the Kuku-Yalanji forces of production as they operated around 1880. These include human relationships with the SECYP landscape and environment, as well as the resources and the production processes which were a part of that relationship. Chapter IV depicts for the same period those aspects of the Kuku-Yalanji 'world order' which constituted the social relations of production and reproduction along with their related ideologies.

Chapter V describes a series of European interventions into Kuku-Yalanji life in SECYP from about 1880 onwards. These complexes serve as particular instances of the capitalist mode of production. The chapter serves as an introduction to Chapters VI-VIII which describe the processes of articulation which took place until after World War Two. These chapters consist of a series of extended case studies of several Aboriginal camps in the area, their composition and their relationships with Europeans. Chapter IX summarises the articulation processes which the case studies exemplify and it looks at some of the consequences for the Kuku-Yalanji mode of production of its interaction with capitalism in the first half of the twentieth century. Chapter X describes the first concerted intervention effort by the state in SECYP in the 1950s and 1960s through the centralization of Kuku-Yalanji people into one settlement, the Bloomfield River Mission. The chapter also examines the social composition and economic organization of the settlement in the late 1970s. Chapter XI analyses the European interventions in SECYP for this period, examines the nature of the interaction between Kuku-Yalanji groups and the mission-complex, and finally, attempts to specify in general the nature of the articulation between systems in the mission case study. Chapter XII summarises the argument of the thesis and reflects briefly on aspects of the concepts and methods used.

The thesis is therefore made up of a general introduction (Part 1), a reconstruction of aspects of the Kuku-Yalanji social formation in 1880 (Part 2), a description of the capitalist mode of production and its particular interventions into SECYP, and Aboriginal relationships with this mode and their consequences (Part 3), a view of contemporary Kuku-Yalanji in a centralized setting (Part 4), and a general conclusion (Part 5).

The results of the thesis can be summarised as follows. The view of Aboriginal society which emerges from a focus on mode of production, is not one of a static timeless system, but rather one which has its own internal dynamic for change. In the analysis of the Kuku-Yalanji system a tension emerges between the relations of production and their related ideology, and the physical and economic realities of life, despite the attempts of individuals from within a dominant social category to impose unity. The results of the analysis reveals two critical elements in the traditional Kuku-Yalanji mode of production: camps or mobs, and bosses. Camps were both a physical and a social entity, and they were often

associated with discrete drainage systems and particular sites. They were of mixed composition in that they were not defined by common descent, but primarily by their crystallization around particular individuals. These individuals, known in Aboriginal English as bosses, were persons with formal structural power, but who were also in positions of significant achieved status. With this conclusion (if not in my method), I follow recent work in CYP (von Sturmer 1978; Sutton 1978; Sutton & Rigsby 1982; Chase 1980) and elsewhere in Australia, Myers (1980a; 1980b).

These two elements, camps and bosses, turn out also to be most significant for the understanding of the articulation processes which occurred when this mode of production came into contact with capitalism. It is the combination of these elements with particular interventions within the capitalist mode of production along with certain environmental factors, which led for a time to the maintenance of the Kuku-Yalanji mode. Put simply, those groups survived who were able to establish camps, or to maintain existing ones, in association with particular Europeans whom they could incorporate as bosses. Groups without bosses (Aboriginal and European bosses) made their way into towns or attached themselves, where possible, to other camps. The capitalist mode of production thus reinforced existing relations of production within the Kuku-Yalanji political economy by bringing the ideology of 'proper' human-land relations closer to reality for some individuals. This phase or period of articulation I term one of conservation. The demonstration of the existence of this period conflicts with much of the work on contact in Australia between Aborigines and Europeans which portrays the former as either inevitably resisting or inexorably disappearing in the face of change. The active participation of Aborigines in contact processes in Australia was pointed out forcefully by Hamilton (1972), but few anthropologists or other scholars since have systematically addressed it. My argument is that the outcome of this stage of articulation - permanent camps and the maintenance of Kuku-Yalanji bosses - was partly the result of the nature of the pre-existing mode of production (and thus of Aboriginal action), and partly due to the character of capitalist penetration into SECYP.

Eventually this process of articulation brought about critical changes in the Kuku-Yalanji forces of production. Changes in these forces, along with competition between Aboriginal bosses for the

recruitment of camp residents, led to an increasing use of Europeans and their resources by Aborigines. Particular Europeans thus became firmly linked with the internal dynamics of the Aboriginal system. The new associations with Europeans also led to structural difficulties within the Kuku-Yalanji relations of production. These changes, along with significant external forces including intervention by the state, led to Aborigines becoming inextricably locked into the European system. This meant that the requirements of the Kuku-Yalanji mode of production became almost wholly subordinated to that of capitalism. The articulation process in SECYP until World War Two or so is thus seen as a two-stage sequence: conservation followed by subordination.

The final case study in Part 4 describes new European developments in SECYP and greatly increased intervention on the part of the state. Although the mission is shown to be structurally similar to the previous Kuku-Yalanji social and residential arrangements, we see for most groups the beginnings of a further stage of articulation, one in which there is dissolution of the Aboriginal mode of production.

I.2 The study.

My study arose out of the Cape York Ecology Project,[1] for which I spent twelve months in 1977 working as a researcher. In that year, I spent part of February and July to November in SECYP, the field area for the project. At the end of 1977, the project finished and I returned to the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Queensland to undertake post-graduate studies there. I then continued and expanded my fieldwork in SECYP: April to July in 1978; March to May in 1979; June-July in 1980; and September-October 1982. In addition, I worked briefly with Kuku-Yalanji people in Daintree, Mossman, Cairns and Cooktown. In 1979 I also undertook fieldwork with Kuku-Yalanji people in Mareeba and on the Palmer River (see Anderson & Mitchell 1981; Brady et al. 1980).

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1. This was a multi-disciplinary project funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Broadly, the project's aim was to examine Aboriginal-land relations in north Queensland.

During my fieldwork I used the mission settlement at Bloomfield River as a base camp and as a study site. In 1977 I stayed in what had formerly been the single men's dormitory at the mission with Mr. Bob Yerrie, then Deputy Chairman of the Bloomfield River Aboriginal Council and sole traditional male owner of the territory on which the mission is sited. From 1978 to 1982 at Bloomfield I used a caravan supplied by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (A.I.A.S.) which was situated near the old dormitory house. Field tasks undertaken in the mission included the collection of genealogies, life histories, household census data, and information on employment, income, expenditure, and consumption patterns, as well as participant observation of daily life. When not at the mission, I camped with Aboriginal groups (primarily those related to Mr. Yerrie) in the semi-permanent camps along the Bloomfield River, on the beaches of the coastline near Bloomfield and in the China Camp area. I also spent time in the Annan valley during 1977-1979. From the bush camps I mapped the country using techniques developed by Taylor (1976), von Sturmer (1978), Sutton (1978) and Chase (1980). I also recorded data on environmental knowledge, past and present site occupation and economic patterns, and I visited sites which are of historic and cultural significance to Kuku-Yalanji people.

I went to Bloomfield with a general cultural ecological orientation and with specific interests in traditional Aboriginal relationships with land and in Aboriginal knowledge of natural resources and their usage. However, after my first prolonged period of residence in the mission settlement I began to have problems in thinking about what I was learning of pre-contact Kuku-Yalanji systems and the way people lived in the mission in the late 1970s. Not that what I saw was not part of a distinctive cultural tradition; the question was rather one of where it stemmed from. On the one hand, I could see continuities with the earlier Aboriginal systems, and on the other, I saw what seemed to be radical changes. It was obvious that European people and their socio-economic and cultural system had been a major force at Bloomfield since 1880, but I had doubts that it was primarily this force that produced the Aboriginal society in SECYP which I observed in the late 1970s.

I began to realize that the problem of inability to assess socio-economic and cultural transformation, disintegration or continuity, lay in an uncritical acceptance of cultural ecology's (and other functionalist) assumptions about equilibrium and steady-state systems.

Further, there seemed an unnecessary and unfortunate 'schizophrenia' involved in separating out the problems of present and past European economic development, policy issues, and ecological disruption of the area on the one hand and, on the other, the nature of the social and cultural life of the majority Aboriginal population of the same region (von Sturmer MS n.d.; see also Anderson 1979). This disjunction prevented my understanding or even perceiving the past and contemporary forces at work shaping the social, cultural and physical systems operating in CYP. It was not ecology that was needed as an organizing, linking, encompassing set of principles, but rather a concept of political economy which dealt with all the ways in which people produce and reproduce the conditions of their existence. It was not enough simply to reconstruct traditional subsistence patterns, resource usage or social organization, although this was certainly a necessary step. It was also necessary to examine in detail the nature of the historical relations of power and economics between Aborigines and Europeans. This involved, in part, looking at the various industries (mining, logging, agriculture, etc.) and related government and mission activities in CYP and attempting to understand their impact on its land and people. In other words, my view was that to account for the nature of contemporary Aboriginal society, we had to understand not only so-called traditional Aboriginal society, but also the nature of European Australian society and the nature of its articulation with that of Aborigines.

I.2.1 A note on sources.

A comment on sources is necessary here. Part of my argument in this thesis is that in examining many aspects of Aboriginal society in Australia, historical data should be admissible anthropological evidence as it has been in Africa and in North America (see Chapter II). More typical anthropological data, such as genealogical information, oral accounts and event reconstruction, can be combined not only with earlier ethnographic studies, but also with such archival sources as government reports, police records, missionary correspondence, European settler

memoirs.[2] Apart from anything else, this material often contains useful factual information about when and where certain people or groups were situated and at what times of the year, for example. It can also be used to place dates on Aboriginal accounts. Although such material is often biased, for example when it is presenting a police or mission or government perspective, this bias itself can be a source of data. In any case, the uncritical use of atypical or unvalidated material is not being suggested. Data from historical sources are treated in the same manner as raw social data. They are verified, cross-checked and tested for their place in the general context of other data. Although good historical sources may not be available for many field study areas, particularly northern Australia, I was fortunate in having good records for SECYP.

At the end of the nineteenth century W.E. Roth collected considerable ethnological data on the Aboriginal peoples of central and southern CYP. Roth was an Oxford-trained biologist and medical doctor. In 1894 he was appointed surgeon at the government hospitals in north-western Queensland. During his time there he published an excellent ethnological study (Roth 1897), and partly as a result of this, he was appointed Northern Protector of Aboriginals in 1897. This position was based in Cooktown and was under the aegis of the office of the Police Commissioner. Roth's brief was to oversee the administration of the new Aboriginal Protection Act and to gather information on any relevant aspect of Aborigines and their way of life (see Pope & Moore 1967). Roth visited the Annan and Bloomfield areas on at least three or four occasions in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Much of his information on this area was given to him by Robert Hislop, a son of the European owner of Wyalla Plains station, just inland from Weary Bay. From this property, Hislop and his family distributed food, blankets and other goods to Aborigines in return for work (see Chapter VII). Robert Hislop was fluent in the local Kuku-Yanyu language and knew a great deal about the Aboriginal people at Bloomfield and in the upper Annan area. Roth often cites him in his published works where he makes mention of

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2. However, I would argue that the latter sources cannot be utilised without fieldwork emphasising local cultural and social systems. Historical studies of Aborigines without this are often seriously deficient.

Bloomfield. Roth, as an administrator and medical officer, collected other data when on his visits of inspection to the mission station and other local Aboriginal camps in SECYP.

Neither Hislop nor Roth were disinterested observers. On the contrary, both were active and significant participants in the processes and events which I later describe. Hislop lived with a local Aboriginal woman who had three children by him. He was the focal point for a large Aboriginal camp at Wyalla, and for a time he was a rations distributor and local Protector. Roth was a major force in the administration of the fledgling Aborigines Protection Act in north Queensland. His areas of influence were wide, particularly in the sphere of Aboriginal employment, Aboriginal-police relations, and control of Black-White sexual relations. He also had the ultimate say over removals of Aborigines from north Queensland to southern government settlements. Although generally sympathetic to what they saw as Aboriginal interests, both Roth and Hislop had firm views on policy. They saw the demise of the Aborigines as ultimately inevitable, and, except for certain areas (for example, WCYP and further north in the Peninsula where Roth advocated large reserves), they saw Aboriginal culture as a disappearing phenomenon. They regarded assimilation therefore as the only realistic policy solution. Nevertheless, I have almost always been able to verify by other means the ethnographic data recorded by both men. Their data are of a high standard and a valuable resource for ethnographic reconstruction.

Another source which proved useful, especially for Chapter VI, is the work of the writer Ion L. Idriess. Idriess was born in Sydney in 1890 and travelled widely in Australia and the Pacific. His work focuses mainly on outback Australia, particularly mining, the stockwork of pastoral properties and Aborigines. Idriess spent several years at Bloomfield prior to World War I. (In fact, there is a creek there named after him.) His books which deal specifically with the area are Men of the Jungle (1932) and The Tin-Scratchers (1980 [1959]). Although the events are somewhat embellished and the prose florid in places, both European and Aboriginal characters were real people and the Kuku-Yalanji words Idriess gives for things are recognizable enough. Many of the events he describes I have also been able to verify from other sources, particularly through the state Mines Department records and local oral accounts. Any references by Idriess to aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture

which I use I have also verified elsewhere.

Finally, I must comment on a major source for part of Chapter VII: the correspondence and reports of the Lutheran missionaries at the first Bloomfield River Mission from 1886 to 1902. These sources are found in the Lutheran Church Archives in Adelaide, the Queensland State Archives and the Hayes Collection of the University of Queensland library in Brisbane. I have relied particularly on the correspondence between the missionaries and their Board and between both of these and the government to reconstruct events at the first Aboriginal mission at Bloomfield. Although extensive, the mission sources obviously have the disadvantage of portraying only the mission's perspective(s). To counter this and to balance and corroborate events, people's actions, and so on, I have also used contemporaneous government reports, as well as checked genealogies, Aboriginal oral accounts and local European letters.

Appendix A gives a detailed list of all archival sources used in this thesis, while Appendix B lists all persons cited directly in the text as oral sources.

I.3 The general region.

Cape York Peninsula is almost 1000 km long and 450 km wide at the base. It protrudes northwards from the rest of Queensland almost to Papua New Guinea, separated only by the Torres Strait. It is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Carpentaria and on the east by the Great Barrier Reef and the Pacific Ocean. For the purposes of this work, the base of the Peninsula is considered to be latitude 16 degrees 20 minutes, a line from near the Gilbert River mouth on the west to just north of Cairns. (See Figure 1).

The central and southwestern portions of the Peninsula receive less than 800mm of rain annually, while the rainfall levels on the east coast, particularly the southeastern corner are among the highest of any region in Australia. Rainfall throughout the area is markedly seasonal, with December to March the wettest period. During this time tropical cyclones are also common. Temperatures on CYP vary from a 30 - 32 degrees Celsius maximum in the summer to an average winter minimum of 15 - 20 degrees Celsius. The Peninsula is comprised largely of low relief land with the highest and most rugged country being along the east coast

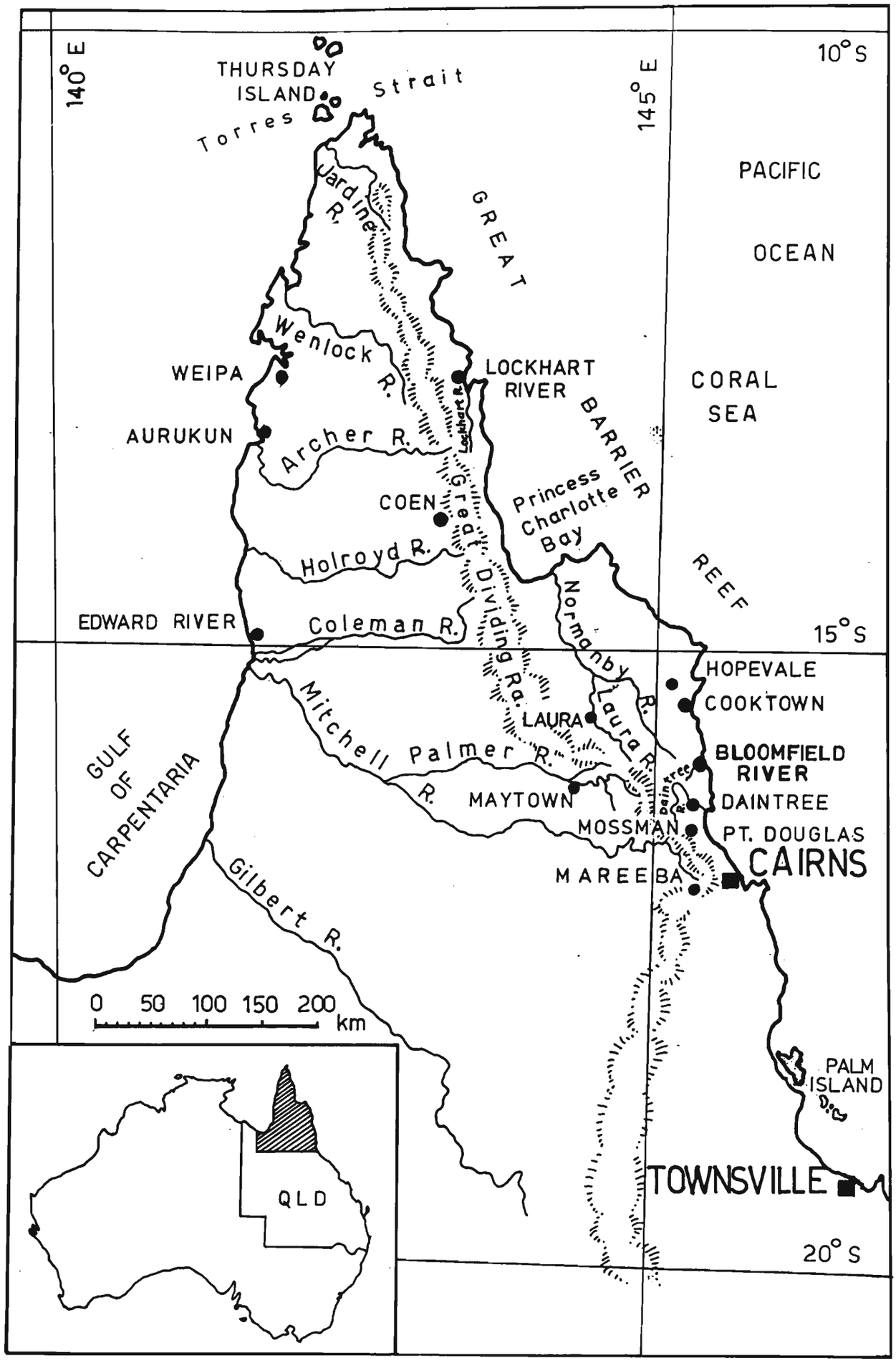

Figure 1 Cape York Peninsula.

and in the central eastern district. The older rocks of the mineral belt form the backbone range of the Peninsula which starts in the high coastal mountains near Cairns and extends northwards hugging the coast almost to Cooktown. The range then extends inland in a broken fashion to Coen, back to the coast at Iron Range and finally peters out near the tip of Cape York itself. This line of mountains, part of which is the Great Dividing Range, separates the narrow drainage area on the east coast from the large coastal plains of the west coast drained by several large rivers such as the Mitchell system. The relatively shallow and muddy shoreline of much of the Gulf of Carpentaria stands in marked contrast to the east coast with its many offshore islands, reefs and cays.

In gross vegetation terms CYP can be divided into two regions. The first is the Peninsula proper, which is roughly north of 15 degrees latitude. The second is the humid tropical region of the southeastern corner. The first region is mostly open forest and woodland country with Eucalyptus and Melaleuca species predominating. There are also some heathland areas on the east coast and at Princess Charlotte Bay. Most of the northeast coast is a mosaic of rainforest, gallery vine forests, grasslands and woodlands. In sharp contrast, the southeastern region is almost wholly covered by dense tropical vegetation of great diversity including eleven types of closed forest and ten vine forest types (Tracey 1982).

Although sharing the seasonal contrasts with respect to climatic variables, these two areas of CYP stand sharply differentiated in terms of physiography, topography and vegetation. The southeast has short, swift rivers which emerge from the steep slopes of rainforest-clad mountains. The greater part of the Peninsula is covered by undulating woodland hills or low sandstone escarpments that lead down to vast coastal plains with meandering and spreading river systems.

I.3.1 Aboriginal people in CYP.

It is probable that humans have been in CYP for at least 16,000 years and possibly as long as 30,000 years (see Wright 1971). However, little is known of the human prehistory of the area. Some work has been done in the Weipa and Laura regions (Wright ibid.; Rosenfeld 1975; Rosenfeld et al. 1981). According to Kirk (1973), the Aboriginal people

of CYP appear to share a common genetic heritage. The languages of CYP are all recent descendants of a common ancestral language now termed 'Proto Paman' (see Hale 1966; Sutton 1976). At least at the time of first significant contact with Europeans, there was an underlying uniformity in social organization, including kinship and marriage (McConnel 1939-40) and local organization and totemism (Sharp 1939). Economic practices and technologies were also similar in form, although varying in detail according to environment (see Lawrence 1968). However, all these similarities appear to be infrastructural forms on which a great degree of local diversity has been built. In terms of social, linguistic and cultural diversity, the west coast featured many groups exhibiting extreme differentiation. On the east coast there were large regions of cultural and linguistic homogeneity (e.g. Cooktown to Port Douglas and west to Palmerville). The northeastern areas of CYP were, in addition, affected both culturally and genetically by their proximity to Melanesia.

Unfortunately, there is little comparative anthropological work or studies of CYP as a whole and this probably reflects the few anthropologists who have worked in the area. The earliest anthropological work was carried out by W.E. Roth, who presented an enormous amount of data on CYP in his North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins (1901-10). The next generation of anthropologists in CYP were all academic anthropologists working in the 1920s and 1930s who concentrated their energies on case studies (Sharp on the southwestern coast, McConnel at Aurukun, and Thomson at Lockhart River and Aurukun). Anthropological research did not then begin again in CYP until the late 1960s and 1970s, with the work of Taylor (Edward River), von Sturmer (Edward River, Aurukun), Chase (Lockhart), Sutton (Aurukun), and Rigsby (Princess Charlotte Bay area). Most of the anthropological work in CYP to date has been concerned with reconstructions of pre-contact Aboriginal systems.

I.3.2 European exploration and settlement of CYP.

Dutch explorers paid fleeting visits to the Carpentarian coastline of CYP early in the seventeenth century. In 1770, Captain James Cook navigated the east coast and halted briefly to carry out repairs near the present site of Cooktown. There were several surveys of the coastal

areas around CYP in the next sixty years or so, but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that Europeans began to show sustained interest in the Peninsula. In 1872, following the earlier treks of Kennedy (1848) and the Jardines (1864-5), William Hann mapped the southern and central regions of CYP. His discovery of gold set in motion a rush to the Palmer River area which had greater impact on the entire region than any subsequent development. By 1877 there were over 20,000 Europeans and Chinese on the Palmer fields (Kirkman 1980:119), and this massive population influx led to the development of Cooktown on the east coast as an administrative centre and port. The small towns of Maytown, Laura and Coen also arose during this period. The pastoral industry moved into CYP at this time to serve the goldfields and towns and a railway was built in the 1880s from Cooktown west almost to Laura. A telegraph line was constructed to connect the southern areas with Thursday Island bringing northern pastoral settlement in its wake. Thursday Island, off the tip of Cape York in the far north, was another administrative centre, and it formed a home port for the pearling and beche-de-mer fleets which plied the Coral Sea from at least the 1850s onwards. The 1880s also saw the beginning of tin-mining in the southeast, while the more wooded regions supported a small logging industry. Some sugar-growing and dairying was practiced on the cleared areas of the coastal lowland strip around Cairns. The sharp decline in gold production in the late 1880s combined with the general economic downturn in Queensland in 1890 and produced rapid falls in overall European numbers in CYP. The area never really saw a return to the earlier levels of frenzied commercial activity associated with the gold days, though new discoveries brought minor rushes to Coen, Rocky River, Wenlock and Iron Range up to the 1930s. In the late 1950s bauxite mining began on a large scale on the northwestern side of the Peninsula. Today the mining community at Weipa North has some 2,000 European residents. Apart from this and some small-scale mining, Europeans are now primarily involved in the pastoral industry, tourism and the administration of Aboriginal settlements. In 1976 there were about 3,500 Europeans in CYP (including the Weipa North township), which is about 26% of the total CYP population (Australian Government Bureau of Statistics). General historical works on CYP include Bolton (1972), Jack (1922) and Pike (1979).

I.3.3 Aboriginal people and European settlement.

One Aboriginal response to this sudden mass arrival of intruders into CYP from 1870 onward was that of fierce resistance and guerilla warfare. The ensuing conflict, especially on the goldfields, has been vividly documented by historians and other writers (see Evans et al. 1975; Holthouse 1967; Hughes 1975; Kirkman 1978; Loos 1974). In the end, the superior military technology and the greater numbers of the Europeans won out. The remaining Aborigines in the southern and central areas of CYP, along with some from other regions, became mining camp and town fringe-dwellers. Many worked as casual labour in the towns, on the pastoral properties and on the pearling boats. Aborigines worked in return for rations, goods, opium and (rarely) money. Some Aboriginal women lived with non-Aboriginal men and bore their children. Many of these children were removed by police from their Aboriginal mothers to government settlements or church missions under Section Nine of the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1897. Adult Aborigines of both sexes who were considered 'troublemakers' by the police were also removed under this legislation to the southern settlements, especially to Palm Island off Townsville. However, most Aboriginal people in CYP, particularly in the northern areas, were moved or came voluntarily into the mission settlements set up on the Peninsula from the 1880s on. These included: Cape Bedford (1885), Mapoon (1891), Aurukun (1904), Mitchell River (1904) and Lockhart River (1924) (see Anderson 1981).

Today almost 6,000 Aborigines live on the ten government settlements and two church missions on CYP (Department of Aboriginal Affairs 1980 census). A further 2,200 live in the nine small towns on the Peninsula (D.A.A. census). The Aboriginal settlements on the whole are maintained by local employment and by transfer payments and they are run along institutional lines and administered under the Aborigines Act of 1971-1979. Aurukun is an exception to this. It has been run since 1978 under the Local Government (Aboriginal Lands) Act of 1978.

I.4 The study area.

The specific area dealt with in this thesis is southeastern CYP (see Figure 2). The Great Dividing Range bisects this region from south to north, and from here begin the westerly-flowing Palmer and Mitchell Rivers, and the Laura River, which flows northwest. The eastern side is drained by the Normanby, Annan, Bloomfield and Daintree Rivers. This region is one of high ecological diversity, and it has a host of impressive physiographic features. The landscape is dominated by steep-sided valleys, fast-flowing creeks, high thundering waterfalls, huge granite formations, and dense rainforest-clothed mountains. In the north, Mt. Finnigan reaches almost 1200 metres and in the south, Thornton Peak is almost 1400 metres high. The coastline from Daintree to Archer Point contains some of the largest relatively undisturbed tropical lowland rainforest left in Australia (Roberts 1978). At some places, for example, near the mouths of the Bloomfield and Daintree Rivers, narrow coastal plains divide the mountains from the ocean and these plains are often fringed by fine, sandy beaches. At other places along the coast, the mountains slope steeply to the sea, bringing rainforest and saltwater together in a juxtaposition rarely seen in Australia. The mouths of the Annan, Bloomfield, Daintree Rivers, as well as Noah and Cooper Creeks south of Cape Tribulation, contain mangrove zones of high species diversity.

The coastal region between Cairns and Cooktown receives high levels of rainfall. Seven locations within this area have recorded more than 2500mm of rain annually (Bureau of Meteorology records). This factor is probably the area's primary defining climatic feature. Heavy precipitation plus the temperature and relative humidity levels combine to give the region a sub-humid to humid tropical climate which is typically characterised by monsoonal wets and marked dry seasons (see Figure 3). In terms of geographic variability there is greater rainfall on the coast and less as one moves further north and west. Similarly, the temperature and humidity range becomes greater as one moves further west. The annual temperature range for the area as a whole averages 21 - 29 degrees Celsius, with a humidity range of 70% - 73%. Generally the area is hottest and most humid from January to March, with cool days and nights around July and hot, dry days and cool nights in October. In common with the rest of CYP, the buildup of thunderstorms is a prominent

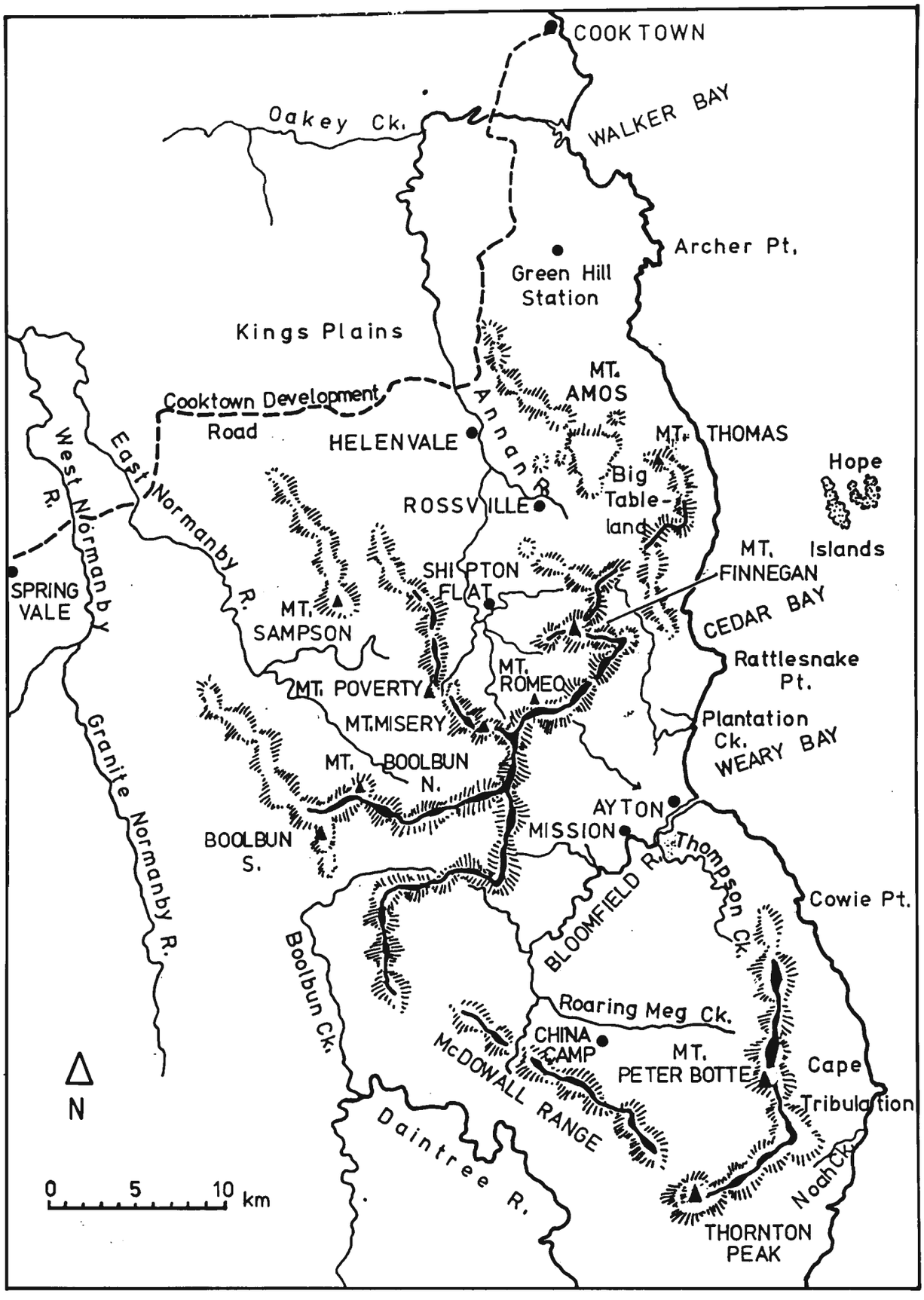

Figure 2 Southeast Cape York Peninsula.

feature of the area from late November to December. Cyclones are not infrequent, especially in the coastal region from January to March.

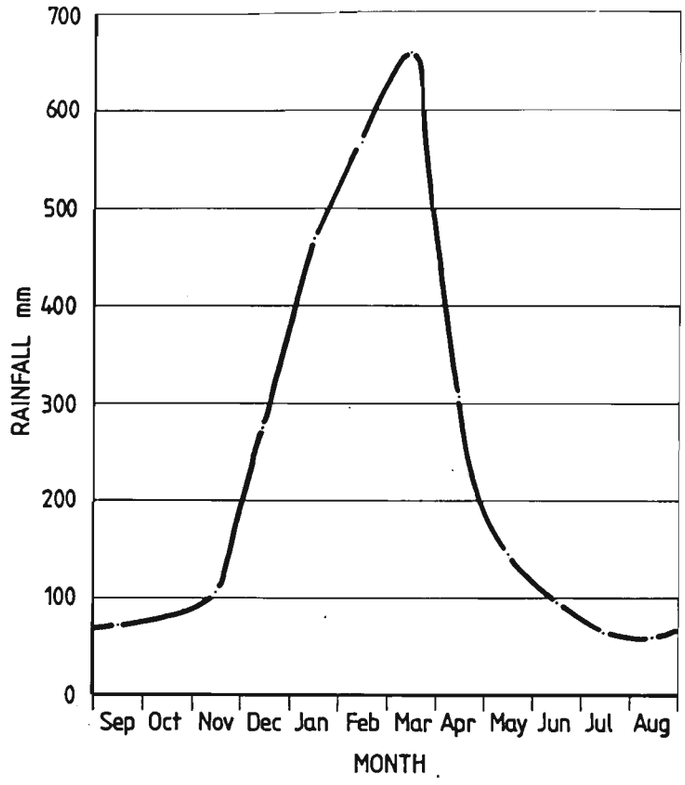

Figure 3 Monthly rainfall averages from 14 stations in SECYP.

I.4.1 The Annan and Bloomfield systems.

The specific foci of the present study are two discrete river systems within the general SECYP region: the upper Annan River basin and the Bloomfield River system.

The Annan system (Figure 4) is characterised by two prominent topographical features. Firstly, there is the extreme difference in relief over short distances. Mt. Finnigan at almost 1200 metres is less than 20 km from the Lake on Kings Plains at less than 100 metres above sea level. Secondly, there is the mountain range which forms a major barrier extending from Mt. Amos in the east and over to Mt. Finnigan and Mt. Romeo in the west. It is this semi-circular range, averaging about 1000 metres, which is drained by the Annan system. Almost all drainage in the region is to the west into the Annan itself, with only short, swift streams coming off the coastal sides of Mt. Amos and Mt. Hartley into the sea. The Annan is made up of seven major creek systems, each of which drains a roughly equal area of the valley. These creeks successively come together on the lowland flats to form the Annan River proper, which

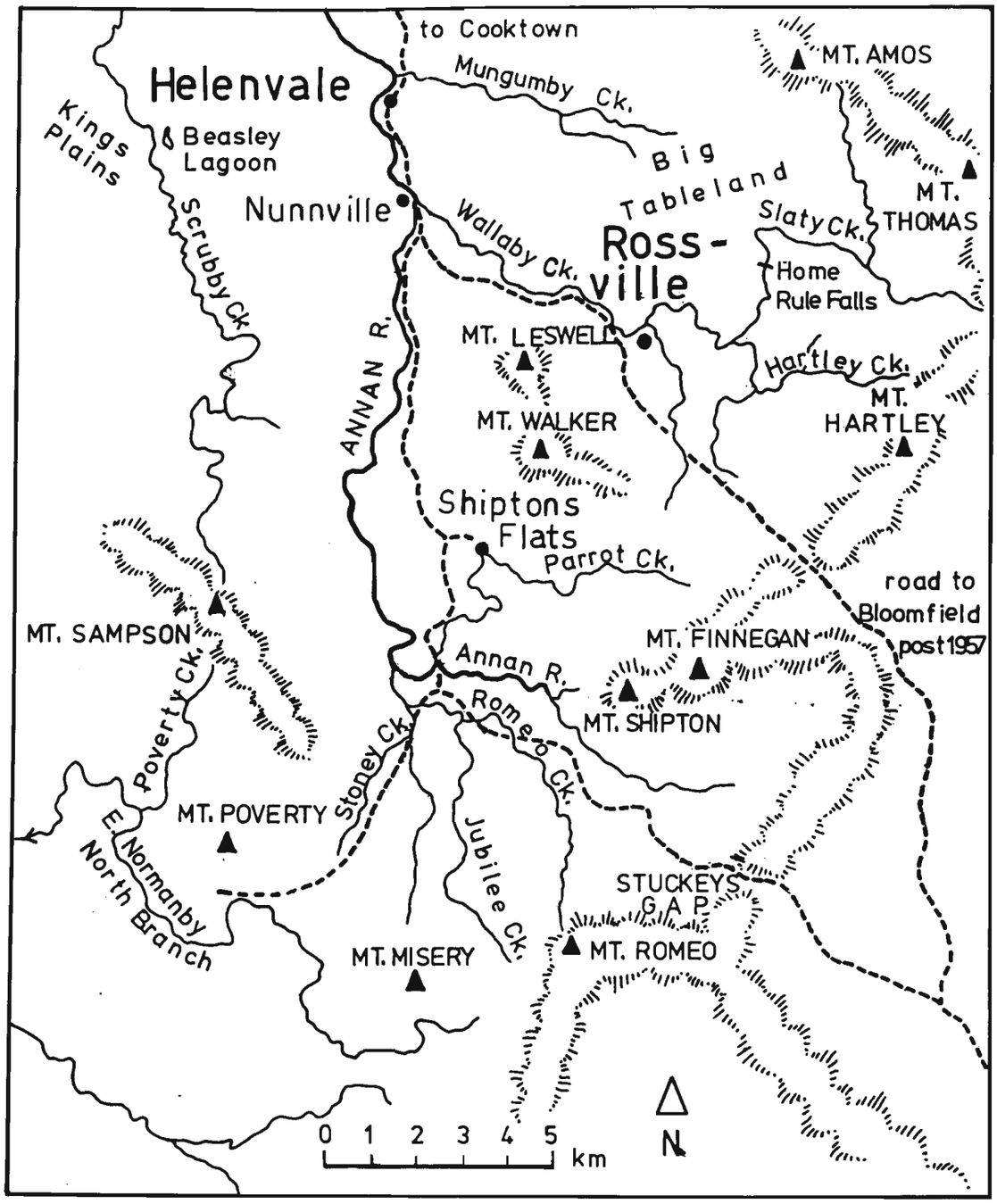

Figure 4 The Annan system.

then joins Oakey Creek north of Black Mountain, turns east and empties into Walker Bay. The total catchment area of the Annan is approximately 300 km^2. In this thesis I deal only with the portion of the Annan region which lies south of the Annan Falls.

The immediately apparent topographic features of the Bloomfield system (Figure 5) are the sharp, upwardly-pointing rock peaks of Mt. Peter Botte, the steep, densely clad peaks of Mt. McMillan and Mt. Finnigan, the saddle-like hump of Rattlesnake Point at the bottom of Cedar Bay, and the Roaring Meg Falls, which can be seen from several places along the Bloomfield-Daintree road via China Camp.

The Bloomfield valley is bounded to the north by the ranges extending from Mt. Boolbun east to Mt. Romeo and Mt. Hartley. These ranges separate the Bloomfield River from the Normanby and Annan basins, while in the southwest, the McDowall Range separates the Bloomfield from the Daintree River. The high, densely-clad coastal range from Thornton Peak north to Mt. Neville forms the southeastern boundary of the Bloomfield valley. These mountains are also the sources of the Bloomfield River itself. Above the Bloomfield Falls near the mission settlement, the river is known as Roaring Meg Creek. Roaring Meg begins in the high rocky peaks of Mt. Peter Botte and flows northwest, then east in a large arc, past China Camp towards Bloomfield. The creek is characterised by huge granite boulder banks, a series of deep pools and waterfalls beginning west of Mt. Peter Botte and culminating in the spectacular Meg Falls and the Bloomfield Falls further downstream. There are five major creek systems which make up the Bloomfield drainage area. The Bloomfield River is tidal for the seven kilometres up to the first waterfall. The specific area I concentrate on within the Bloomfield system is the Roaring Meg/Bloomfield valley only from China Camp over to Mt. Boolbun and due east down the river to the coast. I also deal with the coastal plain inland from Weary Bay and the coast south from there to Cape Tribulation.

Environmental changes in the area over the last 100 years have been localised and relatively minimal. I assume in the brief environmental description which follows that the patterns described are contemporary as well as those of pre-European days. I discuss later the environmental effects of certain European activities and of changed Aboriginal land usage patterns.

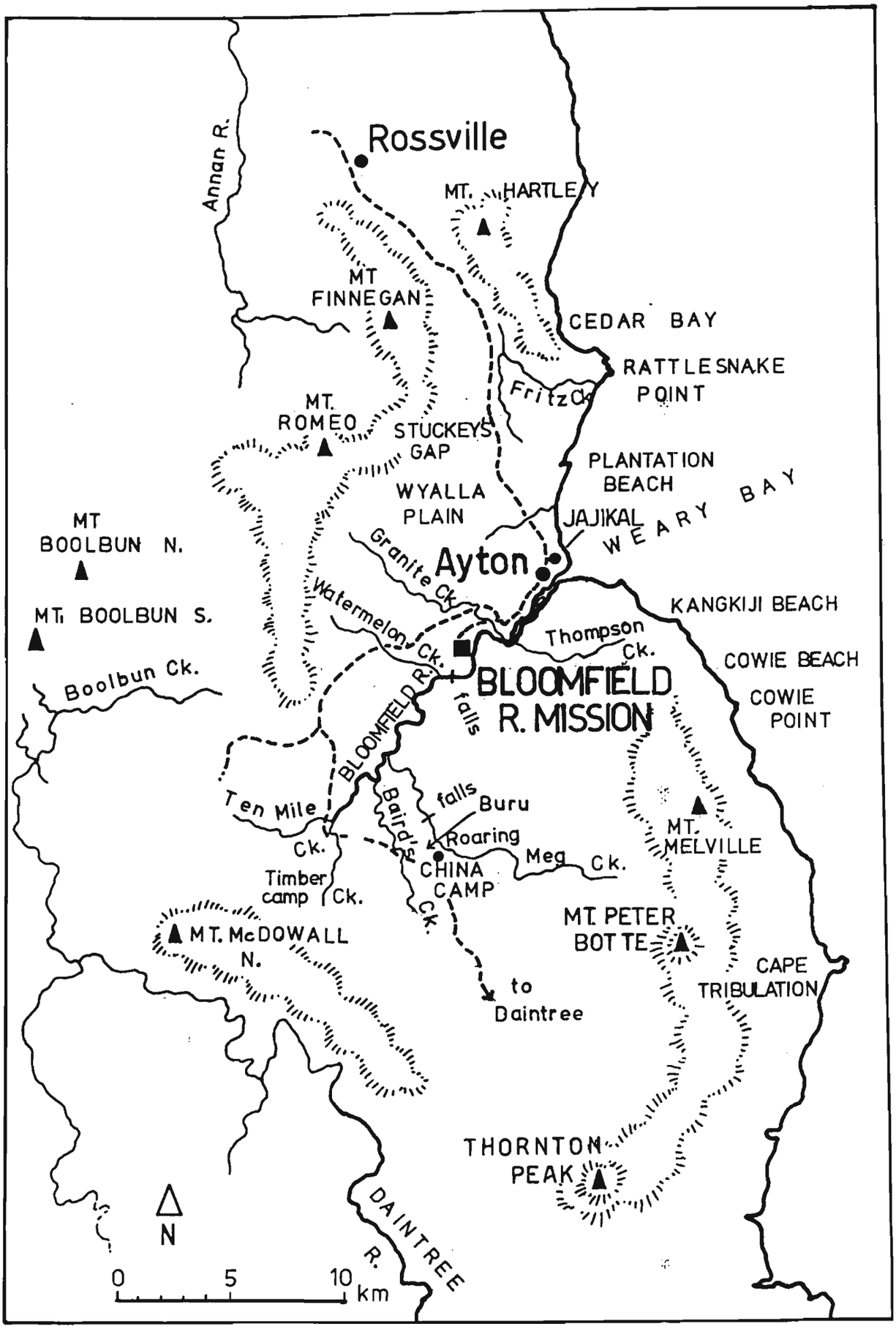

Figure 5 The Bloomfield system.

The predominating vegetation pattern in the upper Annan area is medium and low woodland. The woodland areas around Helenvale are mainly ironbark, while the lower-lying parts towards Shipton's Flat and to the west are primarily mixed woodland of eucalypt, ironbark and bloodwood-stringybark. Closed vine forest covers much of the northwestern slopes of the higher altitude ranges and the areas around Rossville. This vegetation type, in the form of gallery vine forests, is also found along the river itself and the more major creeks. The far northwestern corner of this region is an area of seasonally flooded lowland.

In the Bloomfield basin, as in the Annan, there is a basic division between closed forest and open sclerophyll forest and woodland. The closed vine forest is found primarily at the higher altitudes on both sides of the Bloomfield valley, except for some extensive gallery forests in the major creeks emptying into the Bloomfield River. A channel of open woodland forest some eight to ten kilometres wide follows the course of the Bloomfield River/Roaring Meg Creek all the way from the coast up to China Camp.[3] The Bloomfield coastline includes several prominent ecozones: vine forests on steep slopes down to the water's edge, the beach ridges at Plantation, Kangkiji and Cowie Beaches, areas of saline littoral zone in from Plantation Beach and the mangrove areas at the mouth and on the several islands in the Bloomfield River.

Sharp ecological differences exist between, on the one hand, the upper Annan and Bloomfield systems and, on the other, the Normanby River basin to the northwest and the coastal region north of Archer Point. The Normanby area is a much drier zone and, accordingly, the vegetation is almost wholly stunted open forest. The topography here comprises sharply-dissected low hills and valleys with extensive dendritic creek drainage, as opposed to the more discrete creek systems of the Annan and Bloomfield. Similarly, the east fringe of Mt. Amos and Mt. Thomas has mangrove and unique heath type vegetation on sandy soil, and this contrasts sharply with the Annan and Bloomfield system environments. The other major drainage area in SECYP is that of the Daintree River. At several points this river comes to within only five kilometres of the

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3. This open woodland forest area now appears less extensive than before judging by comparisons of today with air photographs taken in 1957. This may be because of the cessation of extensive and regular burning off by Aborigines.

Bloomfield system. Yet the rocky terrain, steep slopes and dense vegetation make the mountain ranges which separate these two systems an almost impenetrable barrier. All these drainage areas - the Normanby, Daintree, Annan and Bloomfield - form discrete systems. While making some reference to the Normanby and Daintree areas in this thesis, I take as my major focus the people and places of the Annan and Bloomfield regions.

I.4.2 Overview of European contact and settlement in SECYP.

Captain James Cook visited the Bloomfield area in 1770. Just north of Cape Tribulation he struck the reef which caused him to stop at the present site of Cooktown to repair his ship (see Cook diary, Evans comp. 1969:544). Lt. P.P. King stopped briefly at Bloomfield in 1819 and 1821 while on his survey of Australia's northern waters (see King 1827, Vol. I:208; Vol. II:14-15). Neither Cook nor King actually met any Aborigines in the area, although they both saw camps.

William Hann was the first European land visitor to the Annan and Bloomfield districts. The aim of his Queensland government-backed trip of 1872 was to ascertain "the character of the country and its mineral resources, with the view to future settlement and occupation" (Hann 1873:725). Hann had almost a dozen encounters with Aborigines in SECYP, all relatively peaceful. During this expedition he also discovered gold on the Palmer River. J.V. Mulligan's subsequent confirmation of payable gold the next year touched off the rush to the Palmer River.

In the aftermath of the discovery of gold and the later founding of Cooktown, European migration into SECYP increased dramatically. The pearling and beche-de-mer boats began to use the Bloomfield regularly as a port of call for freshwater and for Aboriginal labour. From 1874, the timbergetters moved into the area to exploit the rich stands of cedar found in the area, and a sugar plantation was set up on Wyalla Plains in 1884. Tin in commercial quantities was discovered at Mt. Romeo in 1885, and China Camp and the Annan River regions in particular became major tin-producing centres. The desire to take up land in areas opened up originally by the discovery of gold in SECYP was encouraged by several government initiatives aimed at supporting the small selectors with limited capital who wanted to occupy and utilise their own land. These initiatives, the 1876 and 1884 Land Acts and their later amendments, led to a flood of European settlers into SECYP. The Daintree was opened for

selection in 1877, and blocks of land were taken up on the Bloomfield and Annan Rivers in 1882. The pattern of land classification and selection corresponded to its actual or presumed economic base. Thus, sugar-growing and timber-getting were developed on the Daintree and Bloomfield Rivers, and tin-mining on the upper Annan. In the Bloomfield valley itself, European selections covered all the coastal lowland area in the hinterland of Weary Bay and all the land on both sides of the river as far up as the Bloomfield Falls. From 1882 in the upper Annan valley, thousands of hectares were declared freehold, leasehold, reserve land or subject to occupation license. A great many small blocks were taken up after 1886 via miners' homestead rights or miners' homestead perpetual leases. Mining leases themselves blanketed the entire upper Annan valley, covering every creek and stream. Reflecting the overriding dominance of mining in this area, the Cooktown Mining Field was gazetted in 1889. This covered the entire area from the Annan mouth south to Cape Tribulation and inland to the range. Concurrently, the upper altitude rainforest areas were declared a Timber Reserve. By 1890, less than ten years after the first sustained European settlement, every part of southeast Cape York Peninsula was designated according to European economic potential and classified, alienated, selected or occupied on this basis.

However, the 1890s saw the demise of cedar and the failure of agricultural enterprises on the Bloomfield, and this greatly reduced the number of Europeans in the area. The redirection of capital towards the rapidly growing tin industry provided a firm base for more permanent settlement, if only on a relatively small scale. Tin, along with a little market gardening and grazing, supported about 400 to 500 Europeans in the Annan/Bloomfield district until World War Two, when the mineral market suffered a major downturn and production was severely curtailed. By the 1960s the European population had fallen to under 200. These people were scattered over the two valleys and supported themselves with occasional tin-scratching and gardening. The rudimentary roads and the lack of general facilities in this rugged area have kept this part of SECYP isolated from the mainstream of more recent European development in north Queensland.

Since the mid-1970s things have begun to change. The areas north of Cairns, particularly around Bloomfield, have attracted many people seeking to establish an alternative lifestyle based on what they term 'a

return to nature'. Several groups of these 'hippies', as they are called by Aborigines and longtime European residents at Bloomfield, have bought land or are squatting and have established small settlements. Another major change factor has been the move north from the Mossman-Daintree area by the real estate speculators and investors. A road has been put through from Cape Tribulation and there has been talk of bridges across the Daintree and Bloomfield Rivers. Apart from sugar interests wishing to expand northwards, tourist entrepreneurs want to improve the facilities at Bloomfield to attract more visitors to the area. The rise in popularity of recreational four-wheel drive vehicles has already meant a great increase in traffic through the area. Clearly SECYP is entering an era of radical change after almost 75 years of relative stability.

The Aboriginal people dealt with in this thesis are those groups associated with the Bloomfield and Annan valleys. Today many of them live at the Bloomfield River Mission, which is administered by the Lutheran Church.[4] Here there are some 250 people representing 17 clans.[5] Among this group are speakers of Kuku-Yanyu, Kuku-Yalunyu, Kuku-Nyungkul and Kuku-Bidiji who come from the coastal and inland Bloomfield areas, the Annan region and Kings Plains, respectively. Collectively these people are sometimes referred to by other Aboriginal groups and some Europeans as the Kuku-Yalanji. A government settlement for Aborigines was set up in the area in 1885 and it was taken over by the Lutheran Church in 1887. Staffing and financial problems together with conflicts with other European settlers forced the mission to close in 1902. The land which had been gazetted for Aboriginal usage reverted to Crown land status. From that time on, Kuku-Yalanji people were largely left to their own devices variously working for local tin-miners, on the fishing boats, and obtaining a living from the bush. The

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4. Since 1978 this mission has been officially termed Wujalwujal, the name of the Kuku-Yalanji estate on which it is sited. In this thesis though, I use the name Bloomfield River Mission, which was current during most of my fieldwork.

5. All these, including others which are now extinct, are mentioned in Hodgkinson (1886), Roth (1910a), Hughes (1886), Tindale (1974), and McConnel (1939-40). See Table 3. The nature of clans is discussed in Chapters II and III.

Cooktown-based police 'protected' and controlled the Annan and Bloomfield peoples. Ration distribution was introduced at Bloomfield around World War Two. By the early 1950s the Kuku-Yalanji had consolidated themselves into three large camps on the Bloomfield River. In 1957 with renewed government interest in the area, the Lutherans arrived again to set up another mission, and between then and 1970, people were encouraged to move into the mission. The old bush camps were then used only on a temporary basis. The forms which Kuku-Yalanji life took during this 100 year era, the nature of their relationship with Europeans and the reasons for it constitute the subject of this thesis.

Chapter II: Analytical considerations.

II.1 Introduction.

As I stated at the beginning of the previous chapter, the focus of this study is change, and specifically, the kind of change which results from the interaction of societies based on different social and economic systems. In the present chapter I pursue several important theoretical and analytical issues relevant to these concerns. Firstly, I review some of the ways in which anthropologists and historians have traditionally looked at change in 'tribal' societies, and particularly change which results from contact with other socio-cultural systems. Secondly, I examine an alternative approach to this topic which utilises concepts derived from historical materialism. Following this, I outline the conceptual framework on which the present study is based. Finally I review the literature on two topics important for my later argument: the nature of Australian Aboriginal groups and the concept of leadership.

II.2 British anthropology and change.

Contrary to the general reputation of structural-functionalism for exclusively synchronic ethnographic description, many of the major figures in British anthropology wrote a surprising amount about change. Malinowski published over a dozen papers on what he called 'culture change' between 1929 and 1943. These were later gathered together in his The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa (1945). For Malinowski, this change could "be induced by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community, or it may take place through the contact of different cultures" (Malinowski 1945:1). Some British anthropologists writing on change in the 1930s concentrated on the latter, labelling it 'culture contact' (e.g. Mair 1934; Fortes 1936; Hunter 1936). Later British work in the 1940s and 1950s, though, replaced the term culture contact with the more general notion of social change (see Firth 1954:15). They then examined change within specific social institutions: for example, Schapera (1940), Phillips et al. (1953) on marriage; Gough (1952) on kinship; G. Wilson (1941-42), A. Richards (1954) on economics; Freedman (1950), Nadel (1953), Epstein (1953), Gluckman (1955) on law and social control; Hogbin (1947) on

religion. Many of the studies during this time began to use historical materials as an important adjunct to ethnography in their examination of change (see, for instance, Barnes 1954; Leach 1954; Freedman 1958). Overall, however, the emphasis was less on the actual interaction which produced change and rather more on the internal institutional effects of it.

Much of the literature cited above has already been widely reviewed and criticised (see Firth 1954; Beals 1953; Murdock 1951; Garbett 1967; Harris 1968). I shall here merely summarise the major criticisms.
(i) Most of the studies are particularistic, especially the African work. They were not primarily concerned with building a general theory of change (Firth 1954:16). As a consequence there is no notion of an 'engine' of change or how change comes about.
(ii) Related to this, the studies of change from this era are mainly concerned with description, rather than explanation (Gluckman 1949:21). This is partly a function of the fact that the change being studied was either of the type which Firth (op. cit.:17) refers to as 'detail change' (as opposed to structural change), or it was change seen in terms of disintegration or a breakdown of the 'normal' system.
(iii) There are methodological problems with some of the studies. Malinowski's charter for studying change (1945) is really only a mechanical and rigid functionalist way of organizing data for analytical purposes. His writings also imply that change only began in tribal societies with European contact (see Malinowski 1929). Some of the British studies, with their rejection of historical data (see Mair 1934; Radcliffe-Brown 1952), lack time depth, and they impose on their subject an air of unreality (see Firth 1954). Certain of the studies which did utilise historical records (e.g. Schapera on the Kgatla and Eggan on the Pueblo) are little more than dual synchronic studies (see Murphy 1971).
(iv) Description and explanation of change (in so far as the latter was undertaken) were seen as largely peripheral to the main theoretical tasks of social anthropology. They were considered wholly practical exercises. Malinowski, for instance, was quite explicit about this in his work on the topic (see 1945:58, 72, 161-162), as were also Monica Hunter (1934:335) and Lucy Mair (1934:417). The titles of many of the articles on the topic of change from this era are indicative: Mair (1934) and "The study of culture contact as a practical problem"; Wagner (1936), "The study of culture contact and the determination of policy";

Malinowski (1929), "Practical anthropology".

II.3 American anthropology and acculturation.

Most of the American work by anthropologists on the subject of social and cultural change during this same time (1940s to 1950s) was concerned with what they termed acculturation. The concept had been around American anthropology for some time (see Redfield et al. 1936), but it was most clearly focused on by the Social Science Research Committee's Summer Seminar in 1954. That group defined acculturation as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (SSRCSS 1954:974). The aim of the concept seemed to be to identify processes which occurred when such systems 'met'. The processes they suggested included: (i) compartmentalization (Spicer 1956:533; Barnett 1972:485) in which the people of a culture accept elements of a dominant culture incompatible with certain aspects of their own culture by treating the former as isolated self-contained entities; (ii) reinterpretation (Herskovits 1955:492) where items from the dominant culture in their adoption become altered according to the recipient cultural system; and (iii) reactive adaptation (SSRCSS op.cit.:987) where there is withdrawal or rejection by indigenous peoples from the contact situation as a means of coping with the changes brought about by it.

I do not wish to present here a full critique of the acculturation paradigm (see Barnett 1954; Murphy 1964; and Ervin 1980). Rather, I give below a series of summary points of criticism which demonstrate some of the problems with using acculturation to explain contact patterns.

(i) It has no central focus as a theory - in fact, it neither is nor has a theory. It is really only a list of descriptive concepts. Like contemporaneous British anthropological studies of change, acculturation studies had a strong practical leaning. Many anthropologists at the time considered this as extracurricular to what they saw as real anthropology (see Beals 1953);

(ii) Its underlying notion of culture is too diffuse to allow any rigour of analysis;

(iii) The pre-existing autonomy of cultural units which the notion takes as given, is not sustainable (see especially Lesser 1961; Murphy

1964; and also Keesing 1981);
(iv) The kinds of change it argues as being characteristic of culture contact are not really any different from normal social change (Murphy op. cit.).

The relationship between American acculturation studies and history is a curious one. Hudson (1973:119) argues that "acculturation studies were fundamentally historical in character, with most of the information on any particular 'acculturation sequence' coming from documentary and archival sources. But the word 'history' was carefully avoided." The 1950s, though, saw something of a change in American anthropological attitudes to history. Hudson (1973) shows that two important events in this were the founding of the journal Ethnohistory in 1953 and the Presidential Address to the American Anthropological Association given by Fred Eggan in the same year. Eggan argued that "culture patterns can most clearly be seen when they are traced through time, and that comparative method should consist of a detailed comparison of small numbers of cases drawn from a restricted area" (cited in Hudson ibid.:120). Thus began an active American school of ethnohistorians whose aims varied from the use of historical sources merely for studying those people normally dealt with by anthropologists (see Sturtevant 1966:6) to actually formulating generalizations about culture processes (see the work of Hickerson 1970 and also Brumfiel 1976).

II.4 Australian anthropology, Aborigines and change.

From the 1930s and on into the 1960s, anthropologists in Australia, although operating almost exclusively within the British structural-functionalist paradigm, did not undertake studies of Australian Aborigines and social change in the sense it took in the work of the Africanists. Rather they generally chose to examine change - where they did at all - in terms of culture contact, and most often of European contact and impact on Aborigines. Much of this pattern stems, I believe, from Elkin's interest in the earlier British studies of culture contact and, more especially, in American acculturation studies in the 1950s (see Elkin 1951).

However, given the enormous amount of material written about Australian Aborigines, and considering that it is anthropologists who have produced much of that material, it is remarkable that so little of this work focuses on Aborigines and Europeans together. This is especially so, given the fact that virtually no anthropologist ever did fieldwork in an area which had not had significant contact with Europeans (cf. Birdsell 1970; Bern 1979). If we accept that contact situations are usually considered to be 'history', it is instructive to see the comparison made by Barwick et al. (1977:111) of Greenway's (1963) Bibliography of the Australian Aborigines and the Native Peoples of Torres Strait to 1959 and an index of Australian history covering 54 journals (including anthropological ones) up to 1973 compiled by Hogan et al. (1976). While Greenway contains 22,638 items (and Barwick et al. maintain that an equal amount has been published since 1959), Hogan et al. contains only 150 items which refer to or mention Aborigines. Similarly, out of over 750 references to 'social change' and Aborigines in Barwick et al. (1977), only 266 are works by anthropologists. Of these, 83 are on southern rural Australia, and they almost invariably discuss Aborigines solely with reference to policy issues such as assimilation. Exceptions here are the excellent works of Barwick (1962; 1963), Beckett (1958; 1965), and Eckermann (1977). Of the remaining 183, 68 or 37% are by four anthropologists only: Stanner, the Berndts, and Elkin. These also mostly deal with general aspects of policy Australia-wide. Based on this list there are only 29 major works (i.e. book or monograph-length ethnographies) by anthropologists on particular groups or communities which focus on the changes those groups were undergoing because of their relationships with European society or aspects thereof. It is not insignificant that of these, 18 are unpublished Master's or doctoral theses - some going back as far as 1954). It is ironic that it was in northern Australia for which knowledge of precontact Aboriginal systems was greatest, where there was the least effort to understand how these systems articulated with European systems. McBryde (1979:129), Corris (1969:201), Bolton (1982:63), Wild (1977:81), Stanner (1977:3) and Rowley (1970:1-9) all comment on what we could term the 'Great Anthropological Silence': the lack of interest shown by anthropologists in the patterns of Aboriginal-European relationships.

There were some early attempts to apply an anthropological perspective to such a domain, and there have been many more in the last few years. I will return to these shortly. First, however, I want to discuss briefly some possible reasons for Australian anthropology's inattention to a most significant area of Aboriginal life in the twentieth century. Bolton offers a pragmatic reason:

> Because until the 1940s Aboriginal numbers were believed to be dwindling, the few anthropologists who were concerned with Aborigines saw their task as one of recording and analysing all that could be recovered of traditional Aboriginal society while that was still possible. Little attention was paid to the adaptive techniques by which the detribalized and part-Aboriginal communities survived as 'marginal men' in a non-Aboriginal dominated society (1982:63).

There was also the belief that the study of Aborigines who had had too much to do with Europeans was somehow not legitimate. There are many examples of writers attempting to play down, if not actually disguise, European contact and influence on their subject groups. Thomson and McConnel provide examples in CYP of this (see von Sturmer 1978:41-42; Chase 1980:2,69).

Apart from pragmatism, though, there were basic theoretical reasons for anthropological neglect of this area. The most important were the general predominance of structural-functionalism, and the specific influence of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown on Australian anthropology. Elements of structural-functionalist theory which prevented or hindered anthropological analysis of European-Aboriginal relations included:

(i) A concern with self-sufficient, pristine systems and with social typology (societies were viewed in the same manner as plant or animal species);

(ii) A disdain for speculative or 'conjectural history';

(iii) A preoccupation with equilibrium and social order;

(iv) A concentration on structure to the exclusion of process;

(v) The assumption that if a society was to remain a society, change always led to self-regulating adjustments in the system (see Asad 1973; Goddard 1972; Gough 1968).

Given these aspects of structural-functionalist theory, its adherents did not or could not deal with structural change (cf. Hamilton 1972). Societies or groups of Aborigines which did not meet the requirements of equilibrium and pristineness were considered to be undergoing social disintegration and were not suitable subjects for full-scale ethnographies. Because of the concern for a focus on pre-contact times and because of inherent features of their theory, structural-functionalists tended to produce formal, normative and static portraits of particular institutions or aspects of the social structure of particular groups. Dealings between people within these groups and Europeans simply could not be treated beyond the descriptive level from this theoretical stance.

Of those anthropological studies which did look at black-white relations, I want only to mention those major works focussed on tradition-oriented groups or situations. The first significant work dealing with these issues is Elkin's 'Reaction and interaction: a food-gathering people and European settlement in Australia' (1951). Here he argued that there was nothing inevitable about the <u>form</u> which Aboriginal 'coming in' or adoption of European values took, but rather that the Aboriginal reaction was culturally determined. Elkin outlined what he saw as the phases of reaction in an attempt to construct a typology of Aboriginal-European relations. He recognized the important adaptations that both Europeans and Aborigines make to each other at certain stages of settlement, and he put forward the unfortunate term 'intelligent parasitism' to describe Aboriginal adaptation. While identifying a most significant process of contact relations, Elkin's typology has several difficulties. The main one is its underlying assumption that assimilation to European ways is inevitable, necessary and an unproblematic process. Also while useful as a general model, Elkin's typology cannot deal with the great diversity of contact situations across Australia, and it is largely untested due to a lack of adequate case material. Other more minor works of Elkin's which deal with Aborigines in Australian society are Elkin (1932; 1934; 1935; 1937; 1947; 1959; 1963).

The work of R.M. Berndt and C.H. Berndt on Aborigines and Europeans and the effects of European contact is considerable. Major publications are: R.M. Berndt (1951; 1952; 1961; 1966; 1971) and R.M. & C.H. Berndt (1946; 1948; 1950; 1951; 1970). Many of these (along with a host of

more minor works) concern policy options or deal with specific situations or incidents such as the effect of the destruction of Aboriginal sites. Only R.M. Berndt's An Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land (1962) attempts to examine a detailed case study of interaction between a tradition-oriented community and Europeans. There is also some discussion of this generally for all of Arnhem Land in Berndt & Berndt (1954). Berndt & Berndt (1970) has a section on Gunwinggu-European relations, but examination of this was peripheral to the main ethnography. R.M. Berndt (1977) discusses the role of 'tradition' in maintenance of an Aboriginal identity in situations of culture change.

There was also the work done by other students of Elkin with Aborigines in the more European-dominated, southern areas of Australia. This includes, apart from those works I mentioned on p. 32, Bell (1956; 1959), Calley (1955; 1956; 1957), Fink (1957; 1960), Reay (1945; 1951), and Reay & Sitlington (1947). Unfortunately, the valuable ethnographic work done in these studies has not been followed up by recent research in the same areas.

Important work was done by the Berndts' post-graduate students at the University of Western Australia. Unfortunately, much of this remains unpublished (e.g. J. Wilson 1958; 1961; K. Wilson 1958; 1961; Howard 1975; Robinson 1973; Makin 1970; Tonkinson 1962; 1966). Published papers of this group include: Howard (1977; 1978; 1980), J. Wilson (1970), K. Wilson (1964; 1970), Tonkinson (1970; 1977; 1978). The only full-scale ethnography of a tradition-oriented community and their reaction to Europeans out of this group is Tonkinson's book, The Jigalong Mob (1974). In this work, Tonkinson shows how despite centralization, drastic changes to their economy and missionary pressures to change, the Western Desert people he worked with were able to maintain most aspects of their social organization and religious life. He describes the adaptive strategies used by the Aborigines to deal with the European mission staff at Jigalong and the cultural rationale behind these. The work of Sackett, a student of Tonkinson, is also relevant here (see Sackett 1977; 1978; 1979; 1982).

An important but little cited paper is Annette Hamilton's 'Blacks and Whites: the relationships of change' (1972). The article begins by noting that although change was the norm for Aboriginal societies as for all human groups, structural-functionalist anthropology in Australia "simply cannot take account of the many changes which the Aborigines

coped with, even in historical times" (Hamilton 1972:37). Hamilton discusses the active role Aborigines played in contact relationships: primarily, she argues, in order to gain access to food and goods by attempting to set up reciprocal relationships with European settlers. Hamilton also looks briefly in this paper at the role of Europeans as 'bosses' with respect to Aborigines. Her point about the likely indigenous origins of the concept of boss (as opposed to it being merely a function of the European wage labour situation), is an important one which I take up later in the present work.

Although there is no single systematic case study (except perhaps his unpublished Ph.D. thesis), the work of W.E.H. Stanner dealt incisively with several important issues in the relationships between Europeans and tradition-oriented Aboriginal groups. The most significant papers are Stanner (1936; 1938; 1939; 1976a; 1976b; 1977) and several papers in the collection White Man Got No Dreaming (1979). Perhaps his definitive statement is his 'Continuity and change among the Aborigines' (1958). In this paper he argues that continuity in Aboriginal social life depended upon continuity of values and beliefs, upon 'tradition'. Stanner also makes the distinction between 'implicit' and 'explicit' tradition, saying that the former - symbolic, unconscious traditions - are more resistant to change and are an important basis for maintenance of group and individual identity.

Consideration of the importance of tradition and its maintenance in the face of European domination, is the basis for several recent anthropological works: Turner's (1974) study of Groote Eylandt; Kolig's work in the Kimberleys (1977; 1980); and Chase's (1980) work on east Cape York Peninsula. These works examine Aboriginal-European relations from the perspective of local Aboriginal belief systems. These latter are based on what Aborigines perceive to be 'traditional' values (i.e. regardless of the reality, there is an ideology of timelessness). This is seen as providing a firm cornerstone in situations of great change. The closely related issue of 'identity' is also discussed in Chase's work and in Tugby (1973) - especially von Sturmer's paper in that volume. The recent work of Myers (1980a; 1980b) shows the force of cultural concepts in conditioning Pintubi views and behaviour vis-a-vis Europeans. (I discuss aspects of Myers' work later in this chapter.)

A number of studies examine European-induced changes in particular institutions in several northern Aboriginal communities: Rose (1960) on

Groote Eylandt and Terwiel-Powell (1975) at Hope Vale both examined kinship and marriage; Bern (1974) looked at changes in political institutions at Roper River; and Worsley (1954) examined change in economic patterns and religion on Groote. There is also the work of Sansom (1978; 1980; 1981) and Collmann (1979a; 1979b; 1981a; 1981b). Although both deal with fringe-camps around large towns in the Northern Territory (Darwin and Alice Springs, respectively), they focus on actual groups of Aborigines with strong affiliations to nearby tradition-oriented communities. Sansom's main work (1980) presents a detailed description and analysis of how Aboriginal fringe-dwellers organize their everyday affairs in the camps and the ways in which they interact with Europeans in the towns. Collmann's work examines the relationships which have developed between various administrative and bureaucratic bodies and Aboriginal fringe camps, particularly the changes in domestic arrangements which interventions by the former bodies bring about.

Although the work reviewed above certainly constitutes an important contribution to anthropology, there are several general problems with many of the studies in so far as they concern Aborigines and change. There is an apparent lack of balance in assumptions concerning the origins of change or in how these changes will manifest themselves. We do not get a clear view of what might be causing what, why there is a particular reaction and not another. On the one hand, some studies lack historical depth, even where material exists to deal with historical change. They also often display lack of concern for Europeans and their activities in so far as they affect Aborigines. On the other hand, some writers have a lack of knowledge of the form and process of Aboriginal society or deny relevance of such knowledge, and they assume that Aboriginal behaviour is almost wholly in reaction to white influence. Much of the work described above also contains a focus on value systems and cultural factors to the exclusion of more concrete social and economic factors. There is little systematic attempt to show how continuities or changes in beliefs and values are related to changes in other elements of society. Where, for instance, does tradition arise from? The ahistorical nature of many of the studies means that where social change is discussed, it is generally repetitive change as opposed to structural change. Very few studies address issues of the causes or effects of this latter kind of change.

II.5 Historians and contact history.

Historians in Australia have written a considerable amount about change and Aborigines, representing this as 'contact history'. Contrary to some views, Aborigines did appear rather frequently in early Australian history at least until the middle of the nineteenth century (see Markus 1977:170). However, as their numbers fell and as the areas with the greater populations of Aborigines had fewer Europeans, mention of Aborigines by historians began to decline. Bolton notes that in this period:

> Aborigines figured only marginally in histories written by European-Australians, and then usually as a 'problem' encountered by pioneer European settlers and soon surmounted. Tribute was occasionally paid to some faithful Aboriginal offsider of a hero of European exploration, but otherwise they stood entirely outside the mainstream of Australian historiography (1982:60).

There were several important exceptions, for example, Foxcroft (1941) and Hasluck (1942), both of which focussed on the history of Aboriginal policies in Australia.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a resurgence in academic interest in Aborigines in Australian history. Several works draw together historical documents and archival material dealing with Aborigines: Gale & Brookman (1975), Haynes et al. (1972), Reynolds (1972), Stone (1974), and Woolmington (1973). Other works focussed on specific areas or issues, e.g. Biskup (1973), Corris (1968), Hardy (1976), Long (1970), Reece (1974), Ryan (1972), Skinner (1975). Rowley's (1970-71) trilogy was the first large-scale scholarly attempt to produce a general history of black/white contact in Australia. Corris (1973) and Reece (1979) review the historical work from this period.

From the mid-1970s to the present there has been a dramatic increase in scholarly activity examining Aborigines and their part in Australian history. Markus in a recent review article cited over 60 works on contact history which appeared between 1970 and 1977. Barwick et al. (1977) present a select but comprehensive bibliography on 'Aboriginal history and social change'. It contains some 1500 items up

to 1976. McBryde (1979) in her article, 'Ethnohistory in an Australian context' examines the role of historical data in looking at Aboriginal ethnography, history and prehistory. The journal Aboriginal History, which "aims to present articles and information in the field of Australian ethnohistory particularly the post-contact history of the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders" (p. 2, Vol. I, 1977), has been a venue for much excellent work since it began publication in 1977. Another prominent development has been the growing involvement of Aboriginal people in the writing of their own histories. Earlier works were mainly autobiographies (Lamilami 1974; Matthews [Barker] 1977; Perkins 1975; Roughsey 1971; Pepper 1980), but more recently there have appeared collections of oral accounts (e.g. Tatz 1975; Roberts 1975; Sykes and Bonner 1975; Gilbert 1973, 1978). The publication of Sources for Aboriginal History (Barwick et al. 1979) was intended to promote and aid this trend. The active involvement of many Aboriginal people in the production of the forthcoming Bicentennial History of Australia is also evidence of the importance which many Aborigines attach to the recording and writing of their own history (cf. Bolton 1982:67).

For the purposes of this thesis some of the most important historical works to appear in recent years are those produced by historians dealing with race relations, particularly during the nineteenth century colonial expansion era in Queensland. The work of Evans, Saunders and Cronin in Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination (1975) represents the first and most general and ambitious attempt to describe and explain aspects of contact history. Its aim is:

> to reveal and explain the sources of racial interaction in an Australian colonial setting. Dealing, as it does with European - and mostly British - reaction to the main racial 'minority' groups in the one colony, and over the same time period, it affords a unique opportunity to examine an entire corpus of racial thought, the expression and behaviour by whites towards non-whites within a single, coherent and intelligible framework (Evans et al. 1975:XI).

The framework chosen is Rex's (1970) attempt to set up race relations as a separate domain for sociological analysis. Excellent data are presented and overall patterns of colonial policy, as well as popular opinion, with respect to Aborigines, Chinese and South Sea Islanders are well described. However, there are some problems with the approach the authors have chosen. These stem from the lack of an attempt to show how the attitudes and views which they describe relate to their social, cultural and economic contexts. There is a tendency, for instance, to treat racism as a sui generis force: as a cause of certain relationships, rather than as an outcome (See de Lepervanche 1977).

Other significant work has been that of the historians Henry Reynolds, Noel Loos and their students. The greater part of this work has as its focus the contact relations between black and white on the 'frontiers' of white settlement. The earlier publications (Reynolds 1972; 1974; 1976; 1979; Loos 1974; 1975) are aimed at dispelling the myths that Aboriginal depopulation was largely owing to introduced diseases, opium, alcohol or to 'pining away'. They demonstrate that in many areas the Aboriginal resistance to colonial expansion was fierce and sustained. They also attempt to quantify those killed on both sides. The more recent major works, The Other Side of the Frontier (Reynolds 1981) and Invasion and Resistance (Loos 1982), make, in a sustained and well argued fashion, probably the most important point to emerge from Aboriginal history studies thus far: that Aboriginal people were not mere "hapless victims of undifferentiated European aggression [nor] the more or less passive recipients of good and bad policy-making" (Bolton 1982:66). Using a multitude of excellent and interesting examples, Reynolds and Loos show how Aborigines positively adapted to the European presence in its many different forms. Other relevant works include Reynolds (1978) and the three volumes of the James Cook University History Department lectures.

While all this so-called 'new history' is an important contribution, there remain several problems with it. While attempting to show positive Aboriginal response and adaptation, there is no real discussion of the contexts from which such responses arose: i.e. there is no dealing with pre-contact (or post-contact) Aboriginal socio-cultural systems. They are assumed to be there of course, but they are taken as a constant in opposition to the independent variable of

European activity. Consequently, the tremendous diversity and localised nature of Aboriginal societies over short distances is ignored, as are Aboriginal inter-group relations. These factors are never posited as actual causes for particular contact patterns. While being aware, I think, of these shortcomings, the writers justify them on the grounds of disciplinary boundedness. Although, as I have argued, anthropologists may also be to blame for generally ignoring contact history, there seems no legitimate grounds for division of social reality for such reasons. Although some attempts are made by some historians to use oral accounts (see Reynolds 1981:209), they are overall most unsatisfactory. The use of such sources is assumed to be unproblematic, and they are given no contextual base identification. Coming to grips with socio-cultural systems requires, in any case, far more than the uncritical presentation of informant accounts.

A related problem is that of presentation of material. With their particularistic bent, historians seem to have problems with the systemization of their data. They have no bases for grouping data except time (e.g. '1861-1897'; the 'nineteenth century colonial era'), place (e.g. Queensland; north Queensland) or European activity (e.g. 'Aborigines and the pastoral industry'). These boundaries would seem to prejudge the issue of contact patterns. Also the assumptions behind the grouping together of European activities into 'frontiers of contact' by several of these historians are unclear. Such compartmentalizing (which may only be for convenience of discussion) usually obscures important factors in contact outcomes. For example, Reynolds (1981:153) makes the comment that mining in general brought about the most destructive impact on Aborigines of all European activities. Yet as I will demonstrate later (Chapter VI), this was not always the case, and there were important differences between, for instance, tin and gold mining in their respective effects on Aborigines. We need to know more about the nature of specific industries, their local manifestations, ecological impacts and related settlement patterns. Also as the work of such writers as Hart (1978) and Wolf (1982) demonstrates, capitalism never only acts as an independent force in a new region. It necessarily interacts with and responds dialectically to local social structures and historical forces. Further, we need to know more about the relationships (overt, covert and unconscious) between industry and the state, both government policy and bureaucratic actions - not only, but especially, with respect to

Aborigines. Loos (1982) in particular ignores this aspect, although Reynolds (1981) fails also to discuss the Aboriginal responses to various government initiatives.

A final problem with this 'new history' is that although qualifying their work as being only partial or tentative, the general impression gained is one of definitive views of culture contact. Yet, as I have argued, to ignore the socio-cultural context of Aboriginal responses and to assume uniformity in this context is to produce serious distortions of reality. It also flies in the face of a stated aim of these historians to present the 'Aboriginal perspective'. One of the underlying difficulties is that these are attempts to produce general models from a mass of diffuse data. There is a tendency with such an approach to merely choose data which supports one's argument and to ignore other conflicting material. There seems great need for detailed case studies of particular contact situations which balance historical and anthropological data before we can test or even construct such models (cf. McBryde 1979:138).

Even with the above problems remedied, I would argue that it is increasingly difficult to sustain the notion of a separate 'Aboriginal history' which can be analysed independently of other structures and processes in Australian (or even world) history. The movement in this direction clearly aims to counterbalance the often false and distorted view of Aborigines in most traditional historical writings in Australia. It is also essential to document and to be familiar with Aboriginal oral traditions about historical events such as contact with Europeans. Yet history should be more than this, and we should recognise that much of the history of Australian Aborigines for a century or more has been in a sense the history of all Australians (cf. Wolf 1982).

II.6 Historical materialism and non-capitalist societies.

Thus far we have seen some of the problems faced by traditional anthropological concepts and models in examining change and contact between tribal societies and other systems. We have noted also the lack of systematic anthropological examinations of change in Australia between Aboriginal and European systems. Historians too, while recently documenting the events and patterns of Aboriginal-European contact in Australia, have failed to account for these in any theoretical sense.

There is another small, but growing body of literature which approaches relationships between Europeans and tribal groups in a different way from traditional anthropology and history, but which draws on many of the concepts and methods of both. This approach is that of historical materialism, and it derives its inspiration largely from Althusser's interpretation of Marx's later works. It focuses on 'modes of production', and it defines the relationship between modes as being one of 'articulation'. With respect particularly to non-capitalist societies, the latter is a primary topic of concern. It is this approach which I shall use in the present thesis. I turn now to a review of the use of the relevant concepts in this theory.

As I noted in Chapter I, a mode of production is an analytical concept that describes the economic base of a society. Wolf (1982:75) succinctly defines it further as "a specific, historically occurring set of social relations through which labor is deployed to wrest energy from nature by means of tools, skills, organization and knowledge." Although Marx first introduced the concept to analyse industrial capitalism, some writers have recently begun to use the mode of production notion as a central organizing concept in reconstructing aspects of non-capitalist societies (e.g. Bern 1979; Godelier 1975; Hamilton 1980; Hindess and Hirst 1975; Meillassoux 1964, 1969; Rey 1979; Terray 1969).

In addition, the use of a mode of production analysis has opened up a new way of looking at contact between tribal societies and European systems. Instead of using a generalized notion of culture contact or of some vague and skewed concept of social change, the concepts of historical materialism, especially articulation, have allowed a more systematic and determinate examination of how different social and economic systems interact. Foster-Carter (1978:215) traces the origins of 'articulation' to Althusser & Balibar (1970), although he notes that their usage is in the sense of a linking of different 'instances' or levels within a single mode or system. Foster-Carter demonstrates that the more recent use of the term stems from the work of the French anthropologist, Pierre-Philippe Rey. In Rey's work, articulation is a process in time that refers to the relations between different modes of production. He uses it as an attempt to arrive at a single analytical framework which will explain the transition in Europe from feudalism to capitalism and the relationships of the latter with other, non-capitalist modes of production. For Rey, articulation has a necessary

periodisation into three stages; (i) an initial link between modes through the sphere of exchange where capitalism conserves and reinforces the non-capitalist mode; (ii) while making use of the non-capitalist mode, capitalism 'takes root' and subordinates it to its own logic and needs; (iii) the disappearance of the non-capitalist mode and its total replacement by capitalism (Rey 1971, 1973; Foster-Carter 1978).

Contra modernisation theorists and some Marxist development theorists (e.g. Frank 1967) who argue (for different reasons) that the basis of non-capitalist systems is wholly destroyed or transformed more or less on first contact with capitalism, Rey's view is that

> Capitalism can never immediately and totally eliminate the preceding modes of production, nor above all the relations of exploitation which characterise these modes of production. On the contrary, during an entire period it must reinforce these relations of production, since it is only this development which permits its own provisioning with goods coming from these modes of production, or with men driven from these modes of production and therefore compelled to sell their labour power to capitalism in order to survive (Rey 1971:16).

Anthropological applications of such notions are not numerous. Meillassoux (1964) devoted a part of his major work on the Guro to relationships between what he termed the lineage mode of production and capitalism. He also deals with the topic in his most recent book Femmes, Greniers et Capitaux (1976). Rey himself has shown how the non-capitalist mode in the Congo was first conserved by colonialist capitalism, then forcibly subordinated for its labour power (Rey 1969, 1971, 1975). Kahn (1976, 1980) demonstrates how aspects of what appear to be part of a 'traditional' society in Indonesia are actually the product of colonialism and of larger systems. Bradby (1975), at the end of a useful review of Rey's concept of articulation, discusses some preliminary data on the relationships between the capitalist mode of production (CMP) and two indigenous groups in Peru. She demonstrates that because of the different economies of the two Peruvian groups, in one case there is an almost immediate transformation, and in the other, a lack of effect - or even of interest in the indigenous economy

initially - on the part of the intrusive CMP. Wolpe (1975) argues that there exists a parallel between the external relationship that existed in certain periods between a colonial power and a colonized society, and that of the relationship between a local dominant CMP and an indigenous subordinate mode. He terms this situation one of 'internal colonialism', and he describes it as one in which the dominant mode conserves the subordinate one (or allows it to partially reproduce itself), so that the former is freed of a portion of its labour costs.

In Australia there have been several writers who have also attempted to get away from traditional modernization views in their understanding of change in Aboriginal systems. They also argue that in many parts of Australia, European capitalism has not inevitably and inexorably destroyed the non-capitalist mode that it 'met' there. Some of these writers have attempted to explain patterns of interaction between European and Aboriginal systems using the concepts of mode of production and articulation.

One important work here is Hartwig's (1978) application of the work of Wolpe discussed above. Hartwig maintains that the articulation of the capitalist mode of production and the Aboriginal 'primitive communal mode of production' can be best described in terms of internal colonialism. Although capitalist development in southern areas of Australia destroyed Aboriginal society, Hartwig maintains that in other areas articulation between the two modes occurred such that the Aboriginal mode was partly conserved. This produced a situation whereby European "employers were relieved of paying a portion of the necessary means of subsistence, and hence acquired labour power at a cost below its value" (Hartwig 1978:135). He had in mind particularly the pastoral industry in northern Australia. Beckett (1977) demonstrates the internal colonialism case for the Torres Strait Islanders and the pearl-shell industry which operated off the coast of Queensland until the mid-twentieth century.

Although the concentration on labour as a point of concrete linkage between capitalism and the indigenous systems is a useful and necessary starting place, at least four problems remain with the internal colonialism argument. Firstly, the nature of the indigenous mode of production, its structures and internal dynamics remain largely unspecified. Secondly, there may be other forms of linkage between modes which remain unexplored. Thirdly, it is not clear which aspects

of the subordinated mode of production are conserved or transformed and which are not. Finally, it is assumed that a fully independent indigenous mode of production remains, yet the nature of the subordinated mode and how it has been changed are not precisely specified.

Peterson (1980) uses the notion of articulation to describe a form of linkage between Aborigines in the Northern Territory and European society. He describes several types of articulation over time: (i) before 1968 - institutionalization in the towns, exploitation on cattle properties and peripheralisation on the reserves; (ii) between 1968 and 1972 - the introduction of the cash economy and its consequences; (iii) post-1976 - new structural relations between Europeans and Aborigines due to land rights legislation and mining royalties. Peterson argues that given the maintenance of an economy of limited objectives, the third form of articulation allows Aborigines in the Northern Territory to establish a new, non-dependent relationship with European society.

May (1983), in a paper entitled 'The articulation of the Aboriginal and capitalist modes on the North Queensland pastoral frontier', argues that the situation of Aborigines in the pastoral industry in the nineteenth century in north Queensland can be explained best by application of Rey's concept of articulation. She argues that

> The situation conforms closely to [Rey's] second stage where capitalism had taken root, subordinating the Aboriginal system as a result of the blacks' dispossession from the land. Nevertheless, the capitalist mode still made use of certain aspects of traditional society including knowledge of the bush, ability to live off the land and particularly tracking skills. The physical segregation of black employees on cattle stations helped to maintain and reinforce values and skills which were so vital to the early cattle industry (May 1983:44).

Both Peterson and May use articulation in an unsystematic way. Neither define it and often merely use it as a synonym for 'interaction' or 'contact'. In addition, as with the internal colonialism argument, neither has a clear, or at least a specified, notion of what is articulating with what. Capitalism is seen as a general, diffuse force

represented, in the case of Peterson, as a myriad of economic interests and governmental provisioners, and with May, it is assumed to coincide only with the pastoral industry. On the Aboriginal side, Peterson speaks of 'racial articulation' (p. 336) and elsewhere of Aboriginal 'culture' as influencing the form of the linkage (p. 335). May takes the nature of the Aboriginal side of the articulation process as given, spending a mere one paragraph on its description. She also confuses and uses interchangeably 'traditional Aboriginal society' and an 'Aboriginal mode' of production.

Regardless of the problems with their use of the notion of articulation, all the above writers share the dual assumptions that the appearance of capitalism as a dominant mode of production in an area of the world does not necessarily lead to the rapid and immediate disintegration of the non-captitalist mode, and that in some cases, it can for a time and for varied reasons actually operate to reinforce or conserve aspects of the indigenous system.

On the other hand, Collmann (1981a), in an analysis of Aboriginal fringe-dwellers in Alice Springs, argues against the coexistence today of two modes of production in Central Australia - one a capitalist and the other an indigenous mode. He maintains that there is only one mode present, the capitalist one, although features of the other remain from previous times. One of the most important of these features is the Aboriginal domestic group and its economy. Although its reproduction is ultimately linked to the dominant capitalist mode, the domestic group with an economy of limited objectives allows Central Australian Aborigines to limit their dependence on European agents and other outside forces. He presents no detailed historical data, but Collmann does admit that earlier in the contact period, particularly when capitalist penetration of the area took the form of small, domestic groups of Europeans, it is possible that there had been true articulation of the two modes of production, i.e. that the Aboriginal mode had been conserved to some degree beyond the first contact stages.

Part of the problem with the use of concepts derived from historical materialism in the analysis of Aboriginal-European relations is that we know relatively little about what an Aboriginal, 'hunter-gatherer', or domestic mode of production is. Many of the applications of the concepts elsewhere in the world have been with pastoral- or agricultural-based societies. In Australia, some scholars have

fruitfully begun to analyse Aboriginal systems from the perspective of the mode of production concept (e.g. Bern 1979; Davis 1978; Hamilton 1980). Yet the work remains in its early stages. Until it is extended and expanded and we know more about the range of differences in Australian economies, it is difficult to generalise about the articulation of Aboriginal system(s) with CMP. In describing Aboriginal-European contact, some writers have 'jumped the gun' with the mode of production concept, and have assumed its unproblematic nature with respect to pre-contact systems and also assumed its homogeneity. A good example of this is Drakikis-Smith (1981).

Drakikis-Smith carefully defines his notion of mode of production and shows how one or more mode in articulation constitutes a social formation. He also seems to have a notion of the issues which a focus on articulation processes can profitably illuminate. Yet his theoretical discusssion is entirely in the abstract; he fails to integrate this in any way with his discussion of European impact on Aboriginal society. He states that "the nature of the pre-capitalist economy is obviously as important as the type of capitalism in determining what happens, and what results" (1981:43). Yet he fails to describe adequately the important elements of both the non-captitalist and the capitalist modes. His discussion of relations between the two modes is descriptive and particularistic and is not guided by his theoretical model. Nor does he arrive at any explanation for the patterns or diversity of European-Aboriginal relationships. Drakikis-Smith does maintain, however, that the general outcome of this relationship was economic and social disintegration among Aborigines:

> In the great majority of cases rapid dissolution both of [Aboriginal] economy and society seems to have occurred soon after contact; in some instances this occurred before contact with whites. There is little evidence here to support Rey's assertion that the traditional economy remains dominant in the early phases of capitalist penetration (Drakikis-Smith 1981:43).

Other examples in the literature which focus on Aboriginal 'underdevelopment' include Howitt (1979), Middleton (1977), and Howard (1979). These too share a similar lack of a notion of Aboriginal

systems prior to contact and an assumption of disintegration. Some of them seem to be more intent on castigating capitalism and Europeans in a crude political and moral sense than on understanding concrete processes of articulation.

In the present thesis the approach I shall adopt is one which utilises the notions of mode of production and articulation in order to understand a concrete instance of interaction between an Aboriginal society and European capitalism in northern Australia. My general point is one which I share with Hart (1978), that it would be a gross oversimplification and distortion to represent the period 1880 - 1980 in SECYP

> as one in which a stable homogeneous society had been jerked by the colonial impact into a one-way irreversible movement towards a 'modern' future, whatever that might be. The dynamic interaction between past organization and present trends demands a much more subtle approach (Hart 1978:197).

My study assumes that the present-day reality of Kuku-Yalanji society is, to a large extent, a function of its linkages and connections with European society over the last one hundred years (cf. Dupre & Rey 1973:163). This is not to say that the nature of Kuku-Yalanji society had nothing to do with the nature of that relationship. On the contrary, I argue that it played a central role. However, my argument is that it is only by unravelling the actual linkages and connections with the European system which occurred over time, that we will gain an understanding of contemporary Aboriginal reality in this area. My hypothesis is that the process of change in Kuku-Yalanji life was not a simple unilinear and dichotomous one of 'traditional' to 'modern', nor one of stability to disintegration. I will demonstrate that in SECYP articulation occurred between capitalism and the Aboriginal mode of production, and that the latter was at least partly conserved for a time through the nature of this articulation.

As I have shown above, what I am calling articulation has been variously labelled in the social science literature. Yet these other labels remain largely unsatisfactory. 'Contact history' emphasizes exclusive concentration on written sources, contains no notion of culture, is decidedly unsociological in its approach and, being guided

by no central theory, produces unsystematic and diffuse descriptions. 'Race relations' generally emphasizes only the attitudinal aspects of relationships. (Further, the very notion of 'race' is at least partially an outcome of the conditions which race relations studies are said to examine.) 'Acculturation' is a descriptive concept rather than an explanatory one, and the sort of change it focuses on is not unique to contact situations. 'Culture contact' is too vague and general a concept as it is unclear what exactly is coming into contact with what.

These concepts all have three basic problems. The first is that they assume a separation of history and anthropology which leaves us singularly unequipped for dealing with the significant socio-historic phenomenon of contact. The historians' view of these events tends to be ethnocentric and particularistic, while the anthropologists' exclusive focus on ahistorical, timeless ethnographic reconstruction tells us more about the formal 'world order' of Aboriginal life than about how Aborigines have operated in the world over the last century or so. In analysing the Australian scene, then, a separation between history and anthropology allows and reinforces the sharp distinction between 'traditional' and 'non-traditional'. It also assumes a disjunction between Aboriginal and European domains which has not been a reality for two centuries in most of Australia. The second problem with traditional concepts concerning black-white relations is that they generally imply an equation of sorts - i.e. there are assumed to be two sides which are doing things and reacting to each other. However, the identities of these sides are assumed rather than specified. In fact, the assumption that there are only two sides to the equation prejudges the issue. Relations <u>between</u> groups of Aborigines or relations between groups or elements of European society may be as significant in contact outcomes as those between only 'black and white'. The notion of 'sides' is rarely seen for what it is: something to be explained as part of the very process with which we are trying to come to grips. The third problem is that Murphy's (1964) criticism of acculturation applies to all these approaches. They attempt to argue that the processes which occur during contact are of a qualitatively different sort than those processes of change which normally occur in any society. It should not be argued that contact history, race relations or whatever are special areas with their own concepts and theory, which examine and explain isolated domains of social reality. Nor can change be considered as

something abnormal or outside of 'normal' social life and institutions.

Although change is considered basic, my application of articulation to the Australian contact scene assumes neither perpetual equilibrium nor perpetual conflict in relationships between Europeans and Aborigines. The nature of the relationship at different points in time and the consequences of it are a matter for empirical examination. Articulation refers to structural change, but it also refers to social processes of change - processes of everyday life which are constrained by, yet which also have an effect upon structure.

In this work I use the term 'society' to refer to the actual aggregate of interacting Kuku-Yalanji persons in SECYP, but I distinguish this from the 'Aboriginal mode of production' or AMP. (I thus do not restrict the possible generality of the latter). Analysis of the mode of production is aimed at revealing the political and economic relationships that underlie, organize and condition behaviour within that society (cf. Wolf 1982:76-77). Use of the mode of production as an analytical concept is thus a focus on a specification of the socio-economic base of Kuku-Yalanji society. However, in the following chapters I will also examine the role which particular ideological structures play in maintaining that base. As to the actual patterns of articulation in SECYP between 1880 and 1980 which I describe, I will refer to these in terms of a 'social formation'. This labels a specific spatio-temporal setting where there is a determinant relationship between two modes of production.

Table 1 summarises some of the major differences between, on the one hand, the literature based on historical materialism concepts focused on non-capitalist societies and their relationships with capitalism, and on the other, anthropological studies of those same societies.

TABLE 1

Historical materialist and anthropological approaches to contact

Historical materialist studies of impact of CMP	Anthropological studies
1. Emphasises macro-forces; often unaware of local impact and interaction.	1. Stresses local forces; often ignores macro-forces.
2. Determinancy of CMP.	2. Assumes continuity and strength of local cultural traditions.
3. Assumes homogeneity of capitalism and especially the homogeneity of non-capitalist societies.	3. Assumes homogeneity of European society and extreme heterogeneity and diversity of non-capitalist societies.
4. Emphasises structural considerations.	4. Examines process as well as (micro-) structural factors.

In the present study I hope to combine the strengths of the two kinds of approaches and to minimise their weaknesses. I want:
(i) to balance an awareness of macro-forces with a local or micro-emphasis. There is a great need, I feel, for more concrete case studies showing the micro-effects of macro forces (cf. Kahn 1980:4);
(ii) rather than assume the total determinancy of CMP, to examine its interaction with AMP; and to demonstrate that the internal dynamics of the latter played a significant role in defining that interaction.
(iii) to not assume the homogeneity of CMP, but rather pull it apart in a concrete setting into its constituent structures and instances;
(iv) to argue that, as well as structural considerations, social processes and the role of individuals are important to take into account for the understanding of articulation patterns.

II.7 Aboriginal group composition.

Two important issues remain to be examined in this chapter. The first is the nature of Aboriginal groups and the bases of their composition. The second is the question of leadership and of status. I shall argue in this thesis that group composition and the status of particular individuals are significantly related. I will present evidence that a type of residence group was the important political and economic unit in Aboriginal life and that its composition was not necessarily based only on structural factors. I point as well to the role that particular individuals play in crystalizing residence patterns. In the section below, I examine how the nature of Aboriginal groups has been handled in the literature. The next section presents some evidence for the importance of non-structural individual traits in Aboriginal political life.

This thesis argues that the composition of Aboriginal groups in SECYP in the post-contact era was both a cause and an effect of the patterns of that contact. In other words, the nature of groups and the processes which created them were a significant force in articulation, but contact itself also had an effect on group composition. It is important then to understand, as far as we are able, something of the nature of those groups prior to significant contact. More importantly, it is necessary to establish something of the principles which operated to produce and maintain the groups. I discuss the particulars of group composition in SECYP prior to 1880 in the next chapter. Here I review the literature on the topic for elsewhere in CYP and Australia to establish a general model.

Apart from the notion of 'tribe'[1], the most important of Aboriginal social arrangements (to use Berndt & Berndt's 1977 term) appear to be the family, the local descent group, the clan and the horde. The literature seems in reasonable accord on at least the first three of

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1. I do not deal with this here as the notion has been extensively discussed elsewhere (See Tindale 1974; Peterson 1976; Merlan 1981; Sutton 1978.) Further, it is not a group in the sense of joint political or economic action (see Radcliffe-Brown 1913; Berndt & Berndt 1977 [1964]:40), and thus I do not consider it a significant unit for the purposes of this thesis.

these notions. The family is generally considered in the literature to be the most important and primary unit of society (Radcliffe-Brown 1913:147; Elkin 1964 [1938]:82; Berndt & Berndt 1977 [1964]:43). It is most often seen as a nuclear family consisting of a man, his wife or wives and their younger children. The local descent group or local group is seen as bound to specific locations in the landscape and its members related to each other by ties of descent and religious affiliations (Radcliffe-Brown 1913:159; Elkin 1964 [1938]:76-79; Berndt & Berndt 1977 [1964]:40-41; Hiatt 1982:18; Stanner 1965:16). Clans are defined usually as more general and larger versions of local groups. They contain a number of lineages linked by descent and common religious associations to a presumed ancestor. Radcliffe-Brown (1913) introduced the notion of (patrilineal) clan in order to distinguish local groups from non-localised matrilineal clans.

Disagreement in the literature dealing with Australian local organization stems primarily from the Aboriginal group termed the horde. This term has been used specifically to refer to a group of men associated by descent, plus their wives, children and unmarried sisters. It is also seen as the most important economic and political unit in Aboriginal society (see Stanner 1933:394 and Berndt & Berndt (1977 [1964]:43). I do not here propose to discuss in detail the classic debate on local organization (see especially Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31, 1956; Hiatt 1962, 1966; 1968; Stanner 1965), but I do wish to consider the notion of horde. Much of the difficulty in the debate appears to arise from Radcliffe-Brown's original and continued use of the term horde as either a synonym for or a slightly more general label for the local group <u>and</u> for the clan. In his 1918 paper he noted that "In some tribes the horde is a clan . . . and such hordes may be called local clans or clan-hordes" (1918:224). In 1929 he stated that "the primary totemic group is usually the horde, i.e. the small patrilineal local group" (1929:400). On the other hand, in his major paper on Australian social organization Radcliffe-Brown clearly puts forth the differences between hordes and clans, noting that the latter changes its composition only by the birth and death of its members while the former changes due to in-marriage of women from other clans and out-marriage of the clan's own women (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:438). Stanner (1965:8-9) also forcefully makes the point that Radcliffe-Brown was aware of the fluid nature of Aboriginal demography (see also von Sturmer 1978).

The point I wish to make here is that it is almost irrelevant whether Radcliffe-Brown thought of local groups or clans as on-the-ground realities, i.e. as other than formal structural units. He and many other writers since have treated the actual groups - the hordes - as though their defining characteristic was only the shared descent of the majority or a least a core of male members. In other words, while people may have said that hordes were not exactly clans, group composition was nevertheless accounted for by patrilineal ties said to be shared by most of the male members of the horde. Persons in the group from other patriclans were seen as (i) being in the minority, as with the occasional husband of a female clan member; (i) temporary, as with visitors; or (ii) persons considered insignificant to the definition of the group, as with wives and perhaps mothers of all clan members.

The horde, then, which writers agree is the most significant action group in Aboriginal society, has largely been defined as being clan-based. It can be asked what evidence exists to justify this. Given the presumed concreteness of hordes and the centrality of the notion in the long-running debates on local organization, it is surprising that in the whole of the Australian literature from Radcliffe-Brown to the 1960s, there are virtually no detailed data on the composition of actual residence groups (see Shapiro 1973:381; Peterson 1974:21; and von Sturmer 1978:75 for similar complaints). Writers concentrated instead on the clan as their unit of analysis and used genealogies of the clans to determine population numbers and demographic patterns, group history, etc. (see, for example, Warner 1958 [1937]; Hale & Tindale 1933; Thomson 1933, 1939; Elkin 1932). They assumed that hordes were to all extents equivalent with clans. The reasons given for not recording[2] actual horde composition are varied and reveal something important about the fluid and multi-faceted nature of these groups.

Warner, for example, complained that "The demographic aspects of Murngin society are extremely difficult to ascertain, owing to the roving life and impossibility of a head census" (Warner 1958 [1937]:1). Warner also noted (p. 137) the high priority given to individual freedom of movement and that people had a propensity to go well beyond their own clan territories. Kaberry (1939:458) although reaffirming the clan-

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2. These data may well have been collected in some cases, but writers obviously chose not to publish any details.

based nature of hordes in the Kimberleys, cautioned that: "Personal preferences and adjustments, quarrels and conflicting interests, sentimental and local ties can never be caught up in a formula." Piddington & Piddington (1932) say that they were unable to document or even to find clan-based hordes because "The aspect of the culture which has suffered most [from contact] is the local organization" (p. 177). However, they do note that cooperating groups may contain persons "from any horde" and that individuals had great freedom to move about the country (p. 181).

The occasional descriptive snippets of information about hordes are revealing. Warner (1958:127) notes that along with males living in a horde are their "brothers-in-law and their families". Thomson (1939:211) notes that the horde "really consists of members of many clans." Kaberry (1939:445) states that in the Kimberleys a man's parents "rarely seemed to be in the camp". Stanner (1933:393) describes sleeping arrangements on the Daly River whereby men have to camp as far away as possible - although staying in the same camp - from their wives' parents. Berndt & Berndt (1970:106) stated that "Quite often a combined camp was made up of one or two polygynous families plus parents of any or all of the spouses and other relatives temporarily attached to them."

Several of the earlier scholars did make explicit and more detailed reference to residence groups as opposed to treating social categories only. These groups were sometimes called hordes, but they were more commonly referred to as 'camps'. Thomson (1933:459) states that "The small nomadic groups popularly known as 'camps', for which the name 'horde' has been proposed [are] independent, self-governing units" and that the "camp . . . found within a clan territory . . . consists of members of many clans" (1939:211). Stanner (1933; 1934) also uses the notion of camp in his discussions of Daly River hordes. He translates the term dirawur as the Madngella term for 'the horde camp' (1934:467; 1933:393). He describes the dirawur as "the focus of social life" (1934:467), and as a "closely knit, highly integrated little community" (p. 467). He said that it acted as a unit in fishing and hunting and one which always moved camp together (1933:18). Stanner also described the camps as "the important organized kinship group in aboriginal social life, as well as being the most effective unit of political, legal, economic and religious organization" (1933:394). Yet on the Daly River, at least, the camps were not exogamous, and they contained persons from

several patrilineal groups, although Stanner attributes this to European disruptions. Sharp, in his work with the 'Yir-Yoront' of SWCYP, also described camps:

> The typical Australian horde hardly appears as a separate entity in the Yir-Yoront social pattern . . . [Here] the clan-horde assumes a somewhat aberrant form. The camps comprise fragments of many different clans, the individual members of which shift about from one camp and country to another . . . Even during the rainy season, when the community splits up into very small camps, the men of a clan are separated and do not live together in their own territory as a horde (Sharp 1934a:31).

Several points can be made about the above descriptions:
(i) They are, without exception, general idealized descriptions of hordes or camps. No detailed group composition data are given.
(ii) The camps are stressed as important, enduring units, and as forming the basis for joint action, yet no analysis is made of what was the basis of camp composition.
(iii) Camp composition, under 'pristine' conditions, was assumed to have been based primarily on descent (Stanner), or where this was not the case, the situation was considered atypical (Sharp). This was regardless of the fact that almost all the descriptions mention people living regularly in the camps (i.e. they are horde members) who are not members of the same clan.

Hiatt's (1962) important paper, 'Local organization among Australian Aborigines', summarised the work which had been done on the topic since 1930. He argued that the findings of nine major field studies from around Australia show that residence group composition was far more fluid than suggested by Radcliffe-Brown's model, and that the groups regularly contained members of other clans. Studies by Meggitt (1962) and by Hiatt himself (1965) add to the findings described above and serve as an introduction to more recent work.

Meggitt, after discussing the varied combinations of persons in Walbiri groups at different times for different purposes, argues that:

> It is obviously misleading to regard these Walbiri food-gathering groups as simple patrilocal and patrilineal hordes. Their composition was too labile, too dependent on the changing seasons, the alternation of quarrels and reconciliations, the demands of non-agnatic relatives, and so on. From the point of view of the individual, the group at its greatest was the community that comprised all his countrymen and included most of his closer relatives. At its least, the group was his family of procreation or orientation. Between these extremes, the unit might perhaps be termed a horde, but it was one whose personnel were recruited on a number of different bases that varied from one occasion to the next. These might reflect consanguineal links, affinal ties, bonds of ritual friendship or obligation, the pull of temperamental compatibility - or combinations of all of them (Meggitt 1962:51).

Meggitt proposes the term 'community' to cover the maximal group of persons which normally interacted on a face-to-face basis. He noted that "Labile subgroups within the community, which were larger than the residential family units, may be referred to as bands or hordes" (1962:52). Unfortunately, Meggitt gives no figures on these groups which would enable us to examine the associations between co-residents.

Hiatt's (1965) work amongst the Gidjingali of northeastern Arnhem Land revealed another situation in which Aborigines "lived not in separate patrilineal patrilocal hordes but in communities whose male members belonged to from four to eleven patrilineal descent groups" (p. XIV). Reconstructions of pre-settlement residential associations showed them to be based, Hiatt argued, primarily on men from contiguous estates. Continued economic co-operation was also a factor. In this study we are presented for the first time to my knowledge[3] with concrete data describing actual residential groupings. Hiatt examines fully the

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3. Tindale (1962) claims to be describing 'horde-like units' on Bentinck Island. Indeed he does give detailed data on groups (see his appendix I). Yet on close examination, the groups are clearly patrilineal clans and not residential groups.

composition of both residential clusters and the smaller household groups at the central Maningrida settlement.

Following Hiatt, the work of Shapiro (1973) and Peterson (1974) represented the first efforts to document and to explain horde composition. Shapiro presented comprehensive data on contemporary residence groups among the 'Miwuyt' of Arnhem Land, and he also showed that prior to European contact a significant number of male births occurred in areas other than on the child's father's estate. He concluded that "For males, agnation is not the only nor even the primary basis of recruitment to residence groups" (Shapiro 1973:365). On the contrary, Shapiro argued, owing to bride-service obligations, "Residence groups are based primarily upon affinal ties. Agnates will live together only if they can do so without violating their obligations to affines" (Shapiro 1973:379; see also Shapiro 1979:24). Peterson (1974) argued that the traditional model of local organization in Australia ignored ecological pressures which favoured mixed groups of fluid and flexible composition (cf. Lee & Devore 1968:9) and which required older men and women to maintain access to the labour of younger women (Peterson 1974:23). On the other hand, models which emphasise only ecological factors and group lability fail to take account of Aboriginal cultural values which stress the importance for a man of living on his own clan estate. Peterson argues that these pressures - both ecological and social - brought about variable composition of residential groups. This composition changed according to principles of a 'developmental cycle' in which there was oscillation between two models: one a 'kin group model' and the other a 'mixed group model', both of which represent 'clusters of opposition' which recur throughout Aboriginal life. Based on his field data for an actual Arnhem Land horde, Peterson described these models:

> The kin group is the patrilocal band. It is found in a young man living with his father, mother, brothers, and sisters on the father's clan estate. It represents the culturally prescribed ideal held by individual adult men, that they should be living on their own clan land. The mixed group results from a man's first marriage. It requires uxoripatrilocal residence, and the young husband to assist his wife to support her parents. It represents the

> realities of economic life, and is opposed to the culturally prescribed ideal. However at a later stage the young man returns to his estate, completing an oscillation (1974:26).

Thus the actual composition of the bands varied considerably. However, Peterson argues that "they all share some common structural features: a core of one or two older men, with their families, who are living on their own estate; the presence of young sons-in-law; and often the presence of old mothers-in-law of the core members" (1974:26).

Denham (1975) also describes the demographic features of on-the-ground, actual groups amongst the Alyawara of central Australia. However, he does not relate these groups to 'conceptual groups' such as clans. In addition, his description is of a community operating under considerably altered circumstances. Nevertheless Denham usefully lists some of the significant reasons for residence changes and the forces which mitigate against a neat 'clan equals residential group' equation. He states that:

> Population dynamics . . . [are] difficult to handle because of the multitude of dimensions in which major changes occur with a very high frequency. Campsites are abandoned following deaths; subcommunities move about, sometimes forming small camps that show no subdivisions but at other times joining large camps based on temporary fusions of subcommunities; camp and subcommunity compositions are unstable since family units may move from camp to camp independently when illness, food availability, or other factors prompt them to do so; young initiated males move about independently for almost a decade before they establish households of their own; because of high birth and death rates, household compositions, marital statuses, and residences change often. Although post-contact conditions may have seriously affected the relative frequencies with which changes in these population properties occur, there is no reason to doubt that changes in all of them were basic to the social organization of pre-contact Alyawara (Denham 1975:148-149).

Some recent work in Cape York Peninsula supports the above findings. Chase, in his work in northeast CYP (1980), makes a distinction between social category allocation and group membership on the basis of affiliation with, on the one hand, estates - i.e. patrilineal clan territories - and, on the other, estate clusters with regularly used camping sites. He states:

> At the level of estates, the [cultural markers] are common patrilineal descent, shared ownership of myth and totem sites, common moiety affiliation of the patrilineal group and the territory, exogamy and the presence of 'blood kin', and common resource rights to the estate area. The next level of identification, the 'countryman' cluster of estates, is distinguished by shared contiguous estates, common rights to specific camping sites and the resultant local organization pattern of a large community camp which operated across the seasonal range. These contained 'close geographic kin' (Chase 1980:202).

For Chase, then, patrilineal descent "did not appear to create exclusive residential groups of either a temporary or permanent nature" (1980:201). In this area, residence groups consisted of semi-permanent "camp communities [which] contained a large pool of kin, including some whom one could marry . . . People from a locality containing several estate groups formed the core, and to this were added visitors from inland estates and more distant coastal area" (1980:160). Chase also gives detailed data on contemporary residential groupings in different contexts. He notes that clusters of households and "free-forming household groups . . . were indeed kin groups, rather than descent groups; they were cognatic in nature and organized principally on genealogical closeness" (Chase 1980:317-18).

Sutton (1978) in the Cape Keerweer region of west CYP reports no simple relationship between clans and hordes. He states that "'Floaters' [mobile persons not unambiguously attached to one estate], clan schism and absorption, etc. result in enduring residential groups of very mixed lineal composition" (1978:89). However, he goes on to note that "these mixed groups in the Cape Keerweer area are at least partly the result of processes of continuous change leading back in the

direction of an approximation of the 'patrilocal horde' over time, and seasonally, in a recurring pattern. The latter is indeed an ideal model upon which people operate" (1978:89).

Von Sturmer's (1978) work with the Kugu-Nganychara, also of west CYP, describes a similar pattern with respect to groups. He argues that: "patrilineal descent is only one of a number of kin-based ideologies in social life" (p. 72), but that "the clan-based horde living on its own land represents an . . . Aboriginal ideal" (p. 75). Von Sturmer doubts, however, "whether environmental or social conditions can maintain sufficient stability for the ideal ever to be achieved, or once achieved, to survive for any length of time" (p. 75). Furthermore, he argues that descent-based corporations are unlikely to last owing to the intense pressure of "the proprietary and political aspirations of individual entrepreneurs; the conflict between contrasting sets of loyalties - familial versus descent group loyalties; sibling rivalry; and instabilities based on demographic and environmental factors" (von Sturmer 1978:246).

In summary, what can be said of the nature of Aboriginal groups based on the above review? It seems clear that for many areas of Australia, a group, sometimes called a 'horde', sometimes a 'camp' or 'community', and made up of several extended families plus other relatives and visitors who lived together and undertook joint economic ventures, was of fundamental importance. Such groups may well have also been the significant ones with regard to contact. What, then, was the composition of these groups based on? The earlier literature from Radcliffe-Brown to the early 1960s argued that these groups were really only modified clans. However, the few empirical data available from studies in this period reveal the often mixed and much more fluid nature of residential groups. Further evidence for this has been put forward in more recent years. From the work of Hiatt (1962) onwards, researchers have shown that when residential groups are documented or carefully reconstructed they are not primarily clan-based. The notion that they <u>are</u> seems to have been an Aboriginal ideal (or an Aboriginal ideology) that, as Peterson (1974) and von Sturmer (1978) point out, seemed also particularly well suited to the anthropology of the first half of this century in Australia.

If descent is not the only or even the main recruiting or affiliation principle for residential groups, we may ask what is. Suggestions have included kinship or genealogical closeness, estate proximity, ceremonial ties, common language, economic links and affinal obligations. Most of these do not seem to explain horde composition, but rather they seem to be descriptions of the relationships which exist between people actually in the groups and of what they do. Having dispensed with descent as a principle, are we then only left with ad hoc groups composed on a host of principles about which we are unable to generalise? Such a view, as Peterson (1974:24) has shown, denies the power of Aboriginal cultural values and ignores the regularities in Aboriginal social life. Although the affinal obligation theory is clearly part of the answer, to put it forward now as the (new) defining feature of residential groups suffers from the same problem as the clan-based view. It makes Aboriginal life too rigid and formula-based. This tendency stems from the major problem with almost all the discussion on the nature of Aboriginal groups: an overconcern with structure and a disregard for process. Groups are not only 'composed' by reference to existing structures, but also through social action. A focus on action, especially in the realm of politics, seems to be the missing element in our analysis of groups. Several writers (e.g. Stanner and Thomson) have commented on the fact that hordes or camps were the important political units in Aboriginal life. The camps and the interactions within and between them could thus be seen as a domain for political action. An examination of some of the factors involved here as well as of the participants may give us an insight into the composition of the groups. This leads to the question of individuals, status and leaders.

II.8 Status and leadership.

The notion of status has not been used extensively to analyse Aboriginal societies. This is probably because most studies of status go on to look at social stratification and people seem to have found it difficult to speak of Aboriginal society in these terms.[4] Yet while

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4. Sackett (1978:42) makes the useful point that anthropological views of the egalitarianism of Aboriginal society stem more from an Aboriginal ideal than from observed reality.

status in Linton's (1936) sense involves an identity position in a social system, it also implies differential rights and obligations to others: in other words, inequalities. In this sense there appears to have been three primary sets of attributes associated with status positions in Aboriginal society: biological, structural, and what we might term informal or political ones. The biological comprises what Balandier (1970:79) calls "the so-called 'natural' inequalities." These are "based on differences of sex and age, but 'treated' by the cultural environment in which they are expressed, [and] are revealed in a hierarchy of individual positions placing men in relation to women and each individual within the sex group according to age." By structural attributes of status positions I refer to those formal attributes which are particular combinations of the biological (age and sex) and of kinship. Along with kinship, other factors which can be involved include territorial and totemic affiliation and descent. The 'political' attributes of status in Aboriginal society, on the other hand, refer to achieved status: positions obtained via qualities different from or over and above the ascribed status arising from biological and structural factors (cf. Linton 1936). These three sets of attributes are clearly interrelated in a complex yet hierarchical manner: for example, in some systems it may be impossible to attain a position of high structural status (e.g. clan head) without a 'high' biological status (e.g. old age), and similarly, impossible to attain political status at all without the other two.

Inequalities are implied in all three of the above attribute sets. Yet, most writers in discussing, for instance, differential power and authority in Aboriginal societies, have stressed almost exclusively the biological and structural aspects. In other words, they maintain that power differences are due only to factors such as age, sex, and kinship. I suggest that these were only prerequisites and that there existed in Aboriginal societies positions of achieved status which had roles of great significance. Because they have not made the distinction between ascribed and achieved status in analysing Aboriginal societies, most writers have underestimated the importance of achieved status positions. It is the people in these roles who were the 'leaders' or 'bosses' in Aboriginal life. The focus on achieved status allows us to resolve certain of the difficulties with discussions about Aboriginal 'government' and politics. It also adds a new dimension to the debate

on Australian local organization. This thesis proposes that a primary determinant of camp composition was the existence of 'bosses' who have status, power and authority over and above that of persons of equivalent biological and structural status. Further, such positions were not rare or isolated occurrences; instead, as this study will show, they were integral to the functioning of Aboriginal society.

The literature on 'leadership' in Aboriginal Australia is not extensive. Although many of the earlier explorer and settler accounts are full of references to leaders of various sorts, the anthropological literature largely denies such a phenomenon. Sharp, in his well-known paper 'People without politics' (1958), argued that at least in southwestern CYP (although he may well have had his eye on the rest of Australia), there existed no gerontocracy or council of elders nor any 'chief' or headman - no authority recognized beyond the familial level. Instead, politics was based wholly on formal kinship relationships and their associated rights and duties. Meggitt, too, in a summary paper on 'Aboriginal government' (1964), argued that the environmental and social conditions in Australia - namely, lack of accumulable property, the small size and homogeneity of local groups, and the basically egalitarian, interlocking nature of the kinship systems - all "inhibit the emergence of permanent leaders . . . with authority in a wide range of sacred and secular affairs" (Meggitt 1964:74). Both Meggitt and Sharp argued that activities involving numbers of people were coordinated by different people at different times, all dependent upon kinship links to central figures in the activity. Hiatt (1965) agreed that Aboriginal tribes "had no formal apparatus of government, no enduring hierarchy of authority, and no recognized political leaders" (p. 141). Like the other writers, Hiatt supported the view that Aboriginal society had no real political positions apart from those provided by the kinship system, and that leadership in the ritual sphere did not necessarily carry over into the secular domain of everyday life. Howard (1978:17) also supports this view of a separation of spheres and notes that "A leader's potential range of influence and access to individual power were rather limited."

This question of the extent of influence seems the crux of the matter as most writers agree that there were distinct status differences between people based on religious knowledge and ritual competence. Yet, Berndt & Berndt (1977 [1964]) disagree that the hard-and-fast

distinction made by the writers above between the sacred and secular contexts in Aboriginal life can be sustained. They state:

> Religious leaders being men who derived their power and authority over others from their religious position, that power and authority did not cease to operate when they found themselves outside their religious context: nor did they cease to be effective once they had left the ritual ground. All the evidence that we know about, underlines the considerable say they had in everyday affairs - when they chose to intervene, which they would certainly not do in trivial cases. They were concerned primarily with maintaining order and discouraging disorder. While conflict and dispute among members of the same social group, or between contiguous ones, were often resolved on a person-to-person basis, through the involvement of specific kin, there was also intervention by recognized leaders or by men acknowledged as having considerable experience in social affairs (Berndt & Berndt 1977 [1964]:365).

John Bern's (1979) work 'Ideology and Domination' also demonstrates several flaws in the arguments of Sharp, Meggitt and Hiatt. He argues the writers fail to recognize <u>social</u> wealth as being transferable, accumulable property. Bern defines social wealth as the "control of the reproductive and productive capacity of women and ritual property: ceremonies, songs, myth and paraphernalia" (1979:123). As well, Bern, like the Berndts, argues against the treatment of the sphere of religion as being distinct from the sphere of politics. He maintains that, on the contrary, religion is "where the structure of dominance was located in the Aboriginal social formation" (p. 126), and it was "the dominant category of mature men who had legitimate control over the organization of society" (p. 127) through their control of religion.

Although I agree with Bern's critique of the traditional views of Aboriginal government, and support his analysis of the locus and dynamic of power in Aboriginal systems, I believe that the type of power he is talking about (structural power) is not all there is to the organization of, at least, everyday life, if not what Bern calls 'the organization of

society.' Aspects of the organization of everyday life where we witness the exercising of extra-structural power include the demographics of camps and residential groups, conflicts and disputes, decisions about economic activities, and so on. Such events involve processes which we can term (following Swartz 1968, von Sturmer 1978 and Sutton & Rigsby 1982) 'politicking'. Politicking in Aboriginal societies appears to inevitably involve competition for status among members of an already dominant social category.

The analytical separation of structural status and power from processual or everyday status would seem to be useful in resolving the debate over the existence of 'chiefs' in Aboriginal Australia. It also throws new light on the question of whether or not religious leaders had secular powers. The point is that some religious leaders were powerful in mundane affairs, but not exclusively by virtue of their religious knowledge and ritual status. As Berndt (1965:205) has suggested the latter must be combined with certain personal attributes. Although all mature males were structurally and therefore potentially powerful, they did not all achieve this power. Those men who had both religious authority by virtue of their biological and structural attributes and secular influence by virtue of other attributes, were no doubt those labelled as 'chiefs', 'headmen' and 'kings' by early writers on Aboriginal societies. They occurred amongst different groups at different times and with varying degrees of influence. The important thing is that their existence did not stem only from the structural form of Australian society. What made the difference between the potentially and the actually powerful were the attributes which produced achieved status.

Several early writers on Aboriginal society make a clear distinction between status or authority arising from structural position and that stemming from other sources. I mention only a few here. Mathew (1889:398) notes: "Men of preponderating influence are those who are distinguished by courage, strength and force of character. These, in conjunction with the elders, generally advise as to the public actions of the community, settle internal disputes, and enforce obedience to traditional law" (emphasis added). Spencer & Gillen (1927, Vol. I:10) also report that among the Aranda the headman "has, ex officio, a position which, if he be a man of personal ability, but only in that case, enables him to wield considerable power . . . " (see

also Spencer & Gillen 1899: pp. 9 sq.; Brough-Smyth 1878 Vol. II: 295; and Morgan 1967 [1852]). There are many references to actual leaders with achieved status in the early literature. The following quote by Howitt exemplifies the point. He describes a famous 'chief' amongst the Dieri:

> who was able, simply by virtue of his unique personal powers, to influence tribes as much as a hundred miles distant, an extraordinary achievement. In addition, he exercised various powers over his own people which were not customary. For example, he separated married couples when they could not agree, and gave away in marriage young women who were not related to him (Howitt 1904:297-298).

To avoid the charge of using only those writers from the early periods of Australian ethnography which support my case, when some observers of this time were denying leadership of any 'real' sort in Aboriginal society, I now turn to more recent anthropological work on Cape York Peninsula.

Donald Thomson (1933:459) notes for the Koko-Ya'o of the Lloyd Bay region of NECYP:

> The regulation of conduct is in the hands of the old men, recognized by the possession of special knowledge and experience. All the . . . natives have the greatest respect for age and grey hair, and no man who is not entitled to the honorific 'Tjilbo' (the grey-headed one) would think of raising his voice during a discussion on tribal affairs.

He goes on to comment though that the word of certain of these individuals (and women too in some cases) can carry more weight because they "possessed exceptional character and experience". Thomson notes that the term wulmpamo, while meaning usually 'ancestors of the present race', can also be translated by what he calls 'big men' (p. 495). In another work (1935), Thomson notes that for the Ompela and Koko-Ya'o:

> Government . . . is vested in a loosely organized council of old men, and sometimes one man may, by virtue of exceptional experience, especially in matters of initiation or on account of special prowess in fighting and hunting, carry more weight in the deliberations of these old men. (1935:463).

Chase (1980), more recently among the same groups, describes leadership as being apparent in a number of contexts:
(i) 'Bosses' of estate areas being the oldest males of owning patrilineages;
(ii) Prestige being defined by skills in hunting and fighting;
(iii) Men gaining prestige as leading ceremonial performers (pama mukana);
(iv) Renown as a result of great traditional knowledge in certain domains, for example, plants;
(v) 'Boss-ness' arising from ownership or continued occupation of particular sites. These people 'look after' the sites. In the words of one of Chase's informants: "The big men boss for that [place]."
(vi) With reference to camp composition Chase notes: "Focal persons [in clusters of households in bush camps] may be identified easily, and people can name them without hesitation. They are at the centres of kinship networks, and they control some camp activities, including the decision to establish and disband a camp" (Chase 1980:315).

Chase (1984) suggests that in NECYP the actual term 'boss' is rarely used in relation to people and instead is more often used with respect to place and ownership of sites. He states that to be seen to promote oneself as 'boss' is considered anti-social. 'Boss' is equated with 'bossing', and it connotes European behaviour. The more common phrases used with respect to people are 'big man', 'main man' or 'main woman'. Chase maintains that while Aboriginal leadership certainly exists, in this area of CYP at least, the behaviour associated with it tends to be covert.

Terwiel-Powell, in her work (1975) on the Gugu-Yimidhirr north of Cooktown, describes the patrilineal clan groups (pupuwarra) as having 'bosses' who were older prominent males. She notes too that in cases where there was more than one lineage associated with an estate, the seniority of one over another was established through personal status

differences between senior males in the lineages. Further, she states that this difference in lineage seniority could be carried on through time beyond the death of the man from whom it originated.

In the southwest of the Peninsula, Sharp, although later (1958) denying the existence of any 'chiefs' or 'headmen', in his 1934 paper talks about various Yir-Yoront clans as being ranked to a degree and,

> their prestige depending on the tribal importance of the clan's ancestors . . . , on the importance of the men in the living clan, on the size of the clan, and of its domain, and on the relative strength of the clan's position in the kinship structure. One or more of the older men in each clan is recognized as a leader, being termed 'headman'. Together these 'headmen' constitute the community gerontocracy, to which men are elevated in part by their relation to their clan, [and] in part by their personal abilities as generally recognized by the tribe (Sharp 1934a:20).

Sharp also mentions (p. 39) that diffuse moral sanctions exist among the Yir-Yoront from "the effect of the example of the 'great men', living and dead, who epitomize the social standards of conduct and belief and who are greatly admired . . ." In another paper (1934b:430), Sharp discusses the fact that "Certain of the older women earn, by their personalities, terms analogous to those designating the 'big men' and within limits their counsel is sought by the men. A woman may also derive personal prestige from the importance of the men in her husband's or her father's or her brother's families."

More recent research on west Cape York societies reveals to us quite a different picture from that which we would expect given emphasis solely on traditional structural analysis. The views provided by Sutton and von Sturmer show not only individual entrepreneurs engaged in the hard-headed pursuit of self-interest, where 'Law' and 'tradition' are reinvented or altered according to the exigencies of political struggle, but also a situation in which internal dissension and intense egoism are the norm in everyday life. Within this context, Sutton (1978:161) states that in WCYP, "an emphasis on personal style characterises the whole of social ideology." Here we see, perhaps more than anywhere else, the importance of personal characteristics for achieved status and

power positions.

Sutton sets forth several principles which clearly separate structural power from 'actual' or everyday processual power. He states that for Cape Keerweer society generally: "Males dominate females; Higher generations dominate lower generations. Older people dominate younger people; Politically powerful individuals dominate politically weaker individuals" (1978:155). He then goes on to talk about bosses at different (non-mutually exclusive) levels:

(i) Bosses or 'focal males' who are heads of households and who "generally make the decisions about where their households are to live at any time' (p. 68);

(ii) Related to this, there are bosses of larger residential groupings. These bosses are closely identified with particular camping sites. People normally refer to the residential group by mentioning its boss only;

(iii) The boss of the clan which holds its land or estate as a corporation. This boss is not necessarily the structurally most senior, but rather "the most prominent member of the clan active in relation to clan and estate affairs, the one who is 'boss for country'" (p. 60). This person is "unambiguously the spokesperson for that clan's country" (p. 161);

(iv) Finally, "there are also recognised <u>regional</u> 'bosses' [who] in most cases . . . are also clan heads . . . This wider type of authority may have formerly been important in large-scale conflicts, and nowadays it is important in outstation politics and organisation . . ." (p. 161).

Sutton, following Boissevain (1968:549), writes of bosses in Cape Keerweer society as being 'social catalysts': those people "who are individuals providing important links in social networks, who manipulate others to a marked extent. They may also form the focus of an action group . . . or a residential group." Sutton mentions too how "leaders in the political sphere can be leaders of style and vogues as well" (Sutton 1978:160), and he gives the example of the relationship between individual power and the spread of personal linguistic style. He uses the notion of 'big men' and discusses characteristics of their leadership. These include:

> Qualities of political astuteness, verbal ability in arguments, fighting skill, knowledgeability and, perhaps above

> all, the ability to mobilise large numbers of kinspeople as supporters. [These] are essentially what characterises the 'boss' in wider Cape Keerweer politics. Although several women have achieved the status of leadership, most leaders are men. Women can usually mobilise their own siblings and a few other supporters behind them, but men seem able to command wider influence. In the Cape Keerweer region, a large number of people are willing to be identified as following a certain leading man, at least for certain purposes; further south, there is less unity and more leaders . . . (Sutton 1978:160-161).

J. von Sturmer (1978), in his work with the Kugu-Nganychara, also makes a clear distinction between, on the one hand, structural seniority within and between clans and, on the other, the notion of focal person or 'biggest boss'. Rather than residential groups based on patrilineal descent and clan members all living exclusively on their own estates, von Sturmer argues that the "more enduring corporations" are those made up of persons who engage in joint economic activities and who are associated with a cluster of estates based usually on a river or creek system. He says: "the affairs of [these] corporations are conducted and organised by individual 'big men' or 'bosses' acting individually or in concert" (1978:246). In general von Sturmer argues that:

> It is possible to isolate certain individuals whose authority is recognized at both familial and supra-familial levels. While every individual has the right to air his or her views on all issues of moment, the 'big man' speaks only after all others have spoken. His is literally the final word. While others speak, he is heard. Fights are a common, almost daily occurrence; yet, he sits aloof and intervenes only as a final measure. The major decision-maker and instructor in matters of ceremony, he is also the arbiter of what constitutes correct or incorrect knowledge. To a large degree he can be seen as defining the social universe of a number of people, not only with respect to which people regularly interact with each other, but also in terms of what constitutes the 'official version' of stories,

> songs, dances, personal names, genealogies, languages, totemic affiliations, and land ownership (von Sturmer 1978:450).

Apart from the general political sphere, von Sturmer demonstrates that the boss or the focal male "has important functions in day-to-day camp life. Within the general campsite, it is he who allocates particular 'shades' or camping places both to other members of the estate [group], and to visitors. To him also falls the responsibility of resolving disputes. He may also regulate economic activities conducted at, or from the campsite" (p. 291). Focal sites - those considered good residential locations due to resource proximity, strategic or social value or good camping qualities - become campsites of 'big men'. Continued usage of such sites by these men produces strong associations which can last for several generations. There is also a "general movement of the most powerful individuals and estate corporations towards control of [focal] sites" (p. 445). In such situations, "the 'big man' becomes the pivotal member of a network which embraces, and, through the character of its linkages, defines the resident and exploiting population" in the vicinity of such sites (p. 451).

It may be that WCYP and NECYP present different positions on a scale of 'bosship', where the scale represents the degree to which a person is allowed to stand out in contrast publically with others in terms of behaviour. It is entirely possible that low public contrast can still signify extremely high status and power - as with the many examples in European society of the eminence grise.

The general picture which emerges from the above review is one of a status position with a great deal of significance in Aboriginal life. Yet, the position is one which is not immediately visible with an exclusive focus on biological and structural status. It is one which following much contemporary Aboriginal usage, I will term 'boss'.[5] It

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5. It is interesting that this term seems to have been quickly and readily adopted by Aborigines all over Australia regardless of their varying situations with respect to Europeans. This is so because the term had a traditional referent and did not arise solely from Aborigines being in a capitalist labour situation (see Hamilton 1972:43; and Myers 1980a:203; 1980b).

exists at different levels and in different contexts and is based on structural power, in so far as without it such a position would be difficult to attain. Yet the important aspect is that there exist attributes which bring about achieved status, position obtained over and above structural factors. It is these which define 'boss-ship' in real terms. Some of the status attributes and roles of bosses as described by the literature cited are shown in Table 2. These achieved status positions were clearly not exclusively filled by men. Women to varying degrees in different parts of Australia were able to attain considerable prestige and power and to fulfil certain of the roles listed in Table 2. I have given some examples of this above. Yet women's generally low (ascribed) status position across most of the continent, ultimately severely limited their success in the struggle for achieved status.

The attributes and roles of bosses listed in Table 2 can be distilled into three related features (i) a willingness and ability to gauge opinion, to be able to make decisions based on this and, most importantly, to take responsibility for those decisions; (ii) a capacity (beyond that of structural position) to make people dependent upon one, so that they let one make decisions or have opinions for them; (iii) an ability to 'look after' people in a variety of ways including physical protection and by providing an economic niche and a social identity through membership of a 'mob', as well as providing access to 'spiritual' protection through intermediary action. This third characteristic, 'looking after', is perhaps the most important in that it underlies the others to some extent and seems basic to Aboriginal culture.

Myers (1980a; 1980b)6 presents a comprehensive discussion of the concept of 'holding' or 'looking after' in his examination of the cultural construction of authority amongst the Pintubi of Central Australia. He states:

> The Pintubi use the concept of a 'boss' (<u>mayutju</u>) to designate one who 'looks after' his or her subordinates, and it

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6. I do not have space here to provide a comprehensive review of achieved status positions described in contemporary studies in the rest of Australia. Apart from Myers' work, see also Hart (1954) and Hart & Pilling (1960) for especially good examples.

TABLE 2

Achieved status attributes and roles of Aboriginal bosses

Status attributes

Size or stature, physical strength;

Fighting and hunting ability and skill (or at least reputation);

Egoism and capacity to assert self-interest; strong personality; strong, exceptional character; personal style expands outward;

Knowledge and experience (especially *vis-à-vis* 'spiritual'/ceremonial matters; performance capacity with respect to these);

Oratorial and rhetorical skill, including verbal ability in arguments; political acumen (skills in interpersonal relations);

Desire or propensity for responsibility ('ambition'?);

Ability to influence, manipulate and protect people; opinion carries weight; ability to focus opinion;

Prominence, importance, respect, fear, prestige; authority is recognised at a supra-familial level and sometimes supra-camp level;

Polygynous;

Ability to break or change rules and get away with it - 'creator of tradition';

Ability to mobilise supporters; has 'followers'.

Roles

Settling disputes (especially those beyond 'normal' kin domain);

Mediator with the spiritual domain, 'repository' of tradition: 'looks after' sites, knowledge, songs, etc. - i.e. controls them and is able to act as arbiter with respect to these things and is thus able to alter them;

Activates (or de-activates) alliances, whether by marriage, joint residence, economic activity, etc. - i.e. mediates (if indirectly) with other groups and 'outside world';

'Looks after' people by providing a context of protection, as in a safe, orderly camp;

Focal person (or 'core') of camp; acts as a nodal point for networks; defines social universe for others; composition of camps largely determined by or with reference to them, and sometimes described/defined by them;

Makes decisions which significantly affect others; affairs of group flow from decisions made by bosses concerning economic activities, group movements, internal camp affairs, etc.;

Organizer of key events.

> can be used to designate parents, for example, as well as other hierarchical relationships. What such relationships are expected to have in common is that in return for 'nurturance', one owes deference or respect to a 'boss'; a 'boss' can also expect a certain right to command. Thus, as the right to constrain others to one's wishes or (at least) to be asked, authority is considered to be a complement of the duty to 'look after', to grow up - to transform - those others. The moral basis of authority differential is that the 'boss' contributes more of value to the junior, essentially assuming responsibility for that person's well-being (Myers 1980b:313).
>
> The dominant person ('boss') has a higher value because he controls the other's social development (by contributing the necessary knowledge, nurturance, etc.), but the senior's value is defined primarily in terms of what he is able to do for the dependent and the dependent's deference to him (Myers 1980b:317).

This concept of the obligations of bosses is an important one for this thesis.

To summarise this section, there existed persons of high achieved status whom we can term 'bosses', who - at least in CYP, although probably elsewhere too - played significant roles in Aboriginal life. We can see this in patterns of changing tradition where forces for change occur and operate primarily via such individuals. They are the re-interpreters of tradition and the 'editors of history'. These people also play an active role in altering or emphasising different aspects of land tenure principles, in affecting patterns of succession (including active extermination and takeover), and in determining on-the-ground usage of land and resources, particularly the location, composition, size and resource base of camps (see Chase 1980; Sutton 1978; Sutton & Rigsby 1982; von Sturmer 1978 for examples of this). All these are areas where 'bosses' play decisive if not primary roles.

II.9 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have argued that an adequate understanding of the relationships which developed between Aborigines and Europeans in Aust-

ralia - variously called culture contact, race relations, contact history, etc. - requires concepts beyond those of traditional anthropology and history. I have suggested that certain concepts derived from historical materialist theory, particularly 'mode of production' and 'articulation', will enable us to better analyse the complexities of interaction between the two different socio-economic systems. A focus on the articulation of modes of production as a process provides an avenue for explanation of the apparent conservation of subordinate modes of production which may occur for some time following first contact. At the same time such a focus allows us to examine structural changes which may occur in that mode and the society which is based on it and which help bring about their subordination. I have argued further that along with a concern with structure, a focus on social processes within concrete instances of articulation is also important. Finally, arguing that a general understanding of the nature of Aboriginal groups and of the role of individuals (as opposed to only social categories) within those groups will be a significant part of coming to grips with the structures and processes involved in articulation, I have reviewed the literature on these issues and come to several conclusions. Firstly, 'hordes', or what I will term 'camps', were the significant economic and political units, and that these units were of mixed descent composition and reasonably fluid. Secondly, within at least many CYP Aboriginal societies, some individuals, termed 'bosses' or 'big men', had greater power, authority and prestige than did other individuals of equivalent structural position. Finally, I have shown that these bosses played a primary role in defining camp composition and in determining economic patterns. I suggest that if such an interpretation is correct, a focus on camps and bosses vis-a-vis relationships with Europeans will be most fruitful for not only understanding their roles in articulation with capitalism, but also for explicating structural change within particular Aboriginal systems. However, before attempting this, I construct a pre-contact model of the Aboriginal system dealt with in the thesis: Kuku-Yalanji society of the Bloomfield and Annan districts of SECYP, with particular reference to its mode of production.

PART 2: KUKU-YALANJI IN 1880.

Chapter III: Land, Territoriality and Economy.

III.1 Introduction.

The next two chapters examine aspects of Kuku-Yalanji life in SECYP. Several points need to be made at the outset about the descriptions:

(i) They concentrate specifically on the period just prior to significant European contact in the area, i.e. about 1880. The reader will note that I have used past tense throughout this chapter and the next. This is to emphasise the explicitly reconstructionist aims of this part of the thesis. However, it is important to stress that this does not mean that particular aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture do not still persist today;

(ii) The chapters deal with what could be termed the political economy of the Kuku-Yalanji. In other words, I examine some of the ways and means whereby people produced a living for themselves, how the system they were a part of reproduced itself (including its ideological components) and the relationships between people associated with these processes. It is knowledge of these areas which will aid us the most in understanding contact patterns;

(iii) The descriptions presented are reconstructions. As I mentioned in Chapter I, I have relied extensively on the good ethnological and archival material available for this period and area. In presenting data on, for example, land tenure and economic patterns, I have used as many different independent sources as possible to ensure veracity. In some instances for these two chapters, I have used data about the past obtained from older Kuku-Yalanji people who grew up in the bush and who heard their parents and grandparents describing the ngadiku, or 'time before' when Europeans were not in CYP. In most cases I have been able to 'triangulate' between written and oral sources and other social data for cross-checking and validating.

My aim in the end is to produce such concrete data as I can on actual pre-contact patterns including ideological constructs. I do not claim to be producing a comprehensive reconstruction of pre-contact Kuku-Yalanji life in the next two chapters. This is unnecessary for my purposes. I present only a model of the past order, including some of the forces which impinged upon and molded that order and the patterns of

behaviour which this produced.

The present chapter looks at relationships between land and people and the relations among persons associated with that relationship. On the one hand, I examine the structural units of Kuku-Yalanji society and, on the other, the culturally defined units of the Kuku-Yalanji environment. This reveals a contrast between the received or 'official' model of Kuku-Yalanji society's relationship with the landscape and the actual physical relationship between Kuku-Yalanji and the SECYP environment. I also attempt in this chapter to determine the relevant physical subsystems of the environment and the aspects which fostered the Kuku-Yalanji model and those which worked against it. In other words, I describe the forces of production. Similarly I look at how patterns of economic exploitation of the land affected this model. I will argue that there existed a culturally defined, 'official' model of human-land relations which acted as a static force in Kuku-Yalanji life. Simultaneously, though, aspects of the environment itself such as resource distribution and seasonality, as well as the requirements of certain production processes acted as dynamic forces in the system. The tension between these two, along with certain social and political factors, produced a pattern of residence substantially different from that which the official model would predict.

III.2 Land and People.

There were a number of levels of relationship between the SECYP landscape and Kuku-Yalanji people. Firstly, there was individual perception of and psychological or sentimental attachment to the land. Secondly, there was the cultural notion of the environment as being humanised and personalised (i.e. above and beyond individual feelings and attitudes, but obviously initiating, fostering and responding to these personal sentiments). Thirdly, relationships with land were mediated by group or social category membership. I will return to this third aspect in the next section. Here I discuss primarily the first and second types of relationship.

III.2.1 The humanization of country.

The environment for Kuku-Yalanji was not, in a sense, an objective entity, fixed in nature and external to human life. Environment was a 'culturised', humanised landscape termed bubu, or 'country'. It was often described in human terms; changes in it were interpreted as changes in the human or social world. It was interacted with: spoken to and acted upon. In turn it re-acted by providing goods and resources or by withholding them and bringing hardship or climatic catastrophe upon humans (cf. Rigsby 1980:91).

Bubu in its most specific sense meant 'dirt' or 'earth'. Most often though, it referred to 'country', to the environment or one's physical surrounds. The landscape was socialised by the projection of a human persona onto it. Minute changes in the environment were read immediately and wholly in social terms: who had burnt off what area, who had cut down that 'sugarbag' (wild honey bee hive), who had camped where, and so on. Major changes, too, such as floods, fire, drought, seasonal resources not appearing on time or not being of the right quality, were perceived as being brought about by action in the social world. Even with simple description, country was humanised or subject to cultural assimilation. The lie of a hill or a series of mountains were often referred to by use of analogy with the human body. Country was classified according to ease of human movement upon it. The states of the sea, too, were classified according to human use of it. Anomalies in the environment were explained in cultural terms, for example when only one individual of a particular species was found in an area where this species is normally not found. Such a situation was invariably explained by reference to 'human' actions during the Creation era.

The environment was also individuated by the often intense personal relationship which one might have with it. The term bubu mukul bajaku ('very old place') was used as an expression of respect, intimacy and utmost familiarity. It connoted a place or area that had been used in a variety of ways for many years. Every part was known in great detail. This was seen as opposed to bubu jirakul or new, unfamiliar country, which always contained the possibility of danger. Danger in new country could take several forms. There was physical danger in not knowing safe paths, good creek and river crossings, patches of stinging tree or

snake-prone places. There were the mental/spiritual dangers of not knowing the locations of yirmbal or 'story places', particular sites of great cultural significance. Improper entry to these could lead to illness or death. There was, additionally, through being a stranger, the danger of physical attack by people of that country. Country could also be bubu ngulkurr or bubu buyun ('good' or 'bad' country) depending on the ease of passage or occupation it offered or the state of resources available there. There was a strong sentiment that one's country should be looked after 'properly' (the term miyilda kujil, lit.: 'to guard, keep or hold something', was normally used here). One of the most obvious manifestations of this was whether the country had been kept bunjal or 'clean' by being burned off regularly and having sticks and leaf litter cleared from campsites. Country that had not been visited for some time and which had not been cleaned was referred to, often with great disapproval or remorse, as duduy bajaku ('overgrown' or 'bushy'). Bubu jirrbujirrbuda is another concept which expresses the personalised nature of the way Kuku-Yalanji thought about country. This concept refers to country that has been uninhabited or not visited for some time. Such country was considered to be lonely and sad because it had been neglected. Arrivals at these places were conducted in a formal but emotional manner when visitors often spoke to the country and to the dead ancestors whose spirits resided there. Apologies were made for absences, and children and others who had never been there were introduced (see Chase 1980 and von Sturmer 1978 for similar examples from elsewhere in CYP). There was also a real sense of anxiety on the part of owners of country learning of other people travelling in or using it. Unseasonal rainfall and other unusual climatic phenomena were always attributed to such situations.

In summary, the environment was never seen as something conceptually apart from humans, as something only to be exploited by them for a living. There was a definite psychological factor of 'home' - the familiarity and known quality of country. Importantly, too, bubu was the essence of people who belonged to it and who had died. And it was the essence of the living persons who were identified with it and who were using it. It was believed that bubu would look after one and provide sustenance as long as it was utilised regularly and properly and as long the social order was maintained. The environment was culturally defined and perceived, but it was also individuated. In other words,

nature was not only equated with society, but also with particular individuals.

III.2.2 Social categories and land.

There was much more, though, than a general cultural interpretation of the environment in human terms. A structural element of the social system was also projected onto the landscape. Categories of people or groups had as one of their defining features a close association with particular areas in the landscape. Thus relations among people and among groups were seen also as relations among territories or countries. I now turn to the nature of these groups and their lands, and the kinds of relationships which existed between them.

In order to examine these questions I need to summarise briefly Kuku-Yalanji totemism and social organization. Like the rest of CYP (see McConnel 1939-40) Kuku-Yalanji had patrilineal clans, that is, members of the clan traced relationships with each other through the male line. There were also exogamous moieties. [1] These moieties, dabu and walarr, were each associated with one major totem (dabu - black native bees and walarr - yellow native bees). Each also had several secondary totems. These moiety totems, termed mandi, are described by people today as 'mates' for humans. The moiety does not seem to have been a particularly important force in Kuku-Yalanji social organization.

Individual clans also had totems. These were known as binga ('white') or bijar ('dream'). Each clan had a main totem and these included such things as wind, bushfire, steep cliffs, ironbark tree, scrub hen egg, and they were inherited patrilineally. The clan totems were not tied to specific locations, although they could be more prevalent in that clan's own territory than elsewhere. Contemporary Kuku-Yalanji speak of these as 'boss for you' and say that the totems could sometimes help one in the bush - for example, a bird could warn

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1. Roth (1910a:104) states that there were 'four divisions' found at Bloomfield, but McConnel (1931:24) says that she found no evidence for this and that Roth probably got his information from an inland informant (there were sections at Mt. Carbine only 150 km from Bloomfield) or else he mistook secondary totems for section names.

you of the approach of a stranger. In addition, a person was said sometimes to be able to control the actions of his or her totem and be held responsible for them afterwards, for example, if a bushfire got out of control.

McConnel states that at Bloomfield:

> The kinship system itself is accounted for in terms of an original sorting out of the various animals, etc. - in the days when they were human beings - according to their social relationships to one another as a result of the first marriage, a myth which accounts for their identification, as totems, with the various local clan groups believed to be descended from these totem-ancestors. Every clan is Dabu or Wallar according to its line of descent, and all totems fall under one or other line according as their 'centres' are on Dabu or Wallar clan-ground. The 'centres' of totems are usually found in those places where the totem-objects are characteristic of the locality for some reason (1931:22).

McConnel (1931:22) also mentions 'increase ceremonies', but no other source mentions them nor do Kuku-Yalanji today know of them apart from the above-mentioned ability of individuals occasionally to control their clan totems.

The kinship system was by the turn of the century a Karadjeri type, in that marriage to actual cross-cousin was prohibited. McConnel (1931:24) states, though, that an old Kuku-Yalanji man told her in 1930 that he remembered the introduction from the west of the taboo on 'close-up' cousin marriage. McConnel reports preferential marriage for males to be only with 'MB-D', but other sources (e.g. Hodgkinson 1886:12; Oates & Oates 1964:11) also mention 'FZ+D'. In either case, geographic proximity of a potential spouse's clan estate was also considered important - i.e. people married geographically close, but genealogically distant. The junior sororate and levirate were also practised. Three lines of descent were recognised and five generation levels distinguished.

One's primary association to territory was through one's patrilineal clan. These clans were named by adding the suffix -warra to the name of the clan's territory (see Roth 1910a:81, 92). Although one had rights in other countries through other kin relationships, there was a definite patrilineal bias. Although one had rights, say, in mother's country, one was a member of one's father's and father's father's clan. As a Kuku-Yalanji man, John Walker, said: "We gotta track him from nganjan ['father']. All the time. Bubu. Not from ngamu ['mother']. From nganjan. You blo ['belong to'] his mob, his country."

In Table 3, I present a list of Kuku-Yalanji clans and the locations of their territories. The first column contains the clan names which I collected during field mapping in the Bloomfield and Annan districts. The other columns contain historical references to the same clans (although they are sometimes called 'tribes').

Kuku-Yalanji also state that one 'belongs' to country by virtue of being born there. However, as there was a virilocal residence rule, birth place and patrilineal clan area should, in theory, have coincided. What evidence there is, suggests that this was an actual pattern as well. Out of 21 Kuku-Yalanji persons, both women and men, born before 1885 and on whom I have accurate data, 81% (17) were born on their father's country. People, in theory, had their closest personal relationship with father's country. Here one could be wholly safe, knew the environment intimately, and could always obtain (once again, in theory) all necessary resources there. An adult's general authority was also greatest on the 'home' ground. No one could prevent you from travelling over it and using its sites or resources. Conversely, people from other clans visiting were subject to an owner's directions concerning movement and usage.[2] It is common for Kuku-Yalanji today to speak in glowing terms of their own clan countries and the resources available on them. In attempting to convince me to take him to his (distant) clan estate, one old man, Billy King, gave me this description of it: "You wanta go Mulujin [his area], boy! Nganjinnga bubu ['our country']. Talk about kuyu!! ['fish']. And wallaby, all'a same bullock! Ooh, good country mine."

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2. I am deliberately describing these rights and benefits, etc. as though all clan members had them equally. This is not the case as I will demonstrate later.

TABLE 3 Clans and locations of their estates, South East Cape York Peninsula

	ANDERSON	HODGKINSON (1886)	HUGHES (1886)	MESTON (1896)	PARRY-OKEDEN (1898)	ROTH (1898b)*	ROTH (1910a)*	McCONNEL (1931)*	HERSHBERGER and HERSHBERGER (1982)**	LOCATION†
1.	*Bulbanwarra*	Bulpunarra	Bulpoonarra		Bulpinara		Bul-pan ('selection')		Bulban	Mt. Boolbun
2.	*Buruwarra*	Burrawarra			Booroorara		Borru ('camp')		Buru	China Camp
3.	*Muuwarra*	Moowarra	Moo-ara		Moorara		Mu ('district')			Granite Creek
4.	*Nuruwarra*	Noonarra			Nooroorara		Nu-ru ('country')		Ngurru	Upper Granite Creek
5.		Nirrawarra								may be Nuruwarra
6.	*Mulujinwarra*	Mulliginarra					mulujin ('country')		Mulujin	West of China Camp
7.	*Wulbawarra*	Wulmburra	Wolburra		Walparara		Wol-pa ('area')	Wulbur ('country')	Walba	West of Mt. Romeo
8.	*Kangkuwarra*	Gangoarra		Canggooarra	Cangoora	Gangooara	Gan-gu ('country')			Eastern branch Daintree River
9.	*Julaywarra*	Juliarra		Jooliwarra	Juliacara	Jol-li(ara)			Julay	Middle-Lower Daintree River
10.	*Balabay*	Ballaby							Balabay	Lower Plantation Beach
11.	*Ngamujinwarra*	Ammoginarra	Amaggi						Ngamujin	Emmagen Beach
12.	*Kangkaji warra*	Gengadgy	Geugagi		Gungudgira		Gangaji ('area')	Kanggaji ('place')	Kangkiji	Kangaji Beach
13.	*Kulngkaywarra*	Coolungoarra							Kulngku	Baileys Creek
14.	*Jukurwarra*	Tulguruarra			Tohoolcoorara		Tchul-gur ('area')		Julkurr	Twelve Mile Scrub
15.	*Dikarrwarra*	Ikiiarra	Ikkarra/ Yekkarra					Degarra ('place')	Dikarr	Thompson Creek
16.	*Kunawarra*	Cunarra	Koonara		Koonara		Ku-na ('area')		Kuna	Shipton's Flat
17.	*Kabuwarra*	Kapuarra			Kapura	Ka-boo(wara)				Beasley Lagoon; Helenvale
18.		Boui-Boujarra								unknown
19.		Towel-Towelarra		Daldalwarra			Tau-al-tau-al ('country')			west of Lake to Normanby River
20.			Moolburra							unknown
21.			Yokarra							unknown

* Roth's and McConnel's names are groups unless otherwise stated
** Hershberger and Hershberger names are all listed as bubu, i.e. either sites or areas
† For locations see Figures 4 and 5.

	ANDERSON	HODGKINSON (1886)	HUGHES (1886)	MESTON (1896)	PARRY-OKEDEN (1898)	ROTH (1898b)*	ROTH (1910a)*	McCONNEL (1931)*	HERSHBERGER and HERSHBERGER (1982)**	LOCATION†
22.	*Dandiwarra*			Tandiewarra	Tondayara	Tan-di ('area')	Tandi ('country')			Kings Plains
23.	*Juwaljuwal-warra*			Jowaljowalwarra		Jou-wool-Jou-wool-ara				West Normanby River
24.	*Banabilawarra*				Bunnabilara	Banabilla ('tribe')	Bannabillara	Bannabilla ('place')	Banabila	South head of Bloomfield R.
25.	*Jukanwarra*				Chokonara	Cho-kon ('area')	Chokon ('district')			West Normanby River
26.	*Bulkanwarra*				Bulkarrarra		Bul-kon ('area')			Oakey Creek
27.	*Yalmbawarra*				yalmbara		Yalmba-ara			Upper Plantation Beach
28.	*Wulumbanwarra*				wooloomoopanara		wu-lu-mu-pan ('area')			Rossville
29.	*Yungkurwarra*					yoong-koor-ara	Yung-kurara			Butcher's Hill
30.	*Yumalwarra*					yoo-moo ('area')			Yumalba	Mt. Poverty
31.	*Wayalwayal-warra*						wai-al-al ('area')		wayal-wayal	Wyalla Plains
32.	*Wujalwujal-warra*						wudjal-wudjal ('camp')		wujal-wujal	Bloomfield R. Mission
33.	*Kawaywarra*								kaway	Cowie Beach
34.	*Mangkalwarra*								Mangkalba	Cedar Bay
35.	*Kulkiwarra*								kulki	Cape Tribulation
36.	*Walbumurrwarra*									Mt. Peter Botte area
37.	*Waruwarra*									Head of Thompson Creek
38.	*Kumarkajawarra*								kumarkaji	China Camp area
39.	*Yulbuwarra*								yubulu	Stoney Creek
40.	*Nyambilnyambil-warra*								Nambil-nambil	Jubilee/Mt. Romeo
41.	*Ngarrimurril-warra*								Ngarri-murril	Grasstree
42.	*Jirarakuwarra*									Home Rule
43.	*Ngulungkaban-warra*									Rossville area
44.	*Muwanwarra*									Big Tableland

The ideal, then, for Kuku-Yalanji was to be not only born in one's own country, but also to live there throughout one's life if possible and to use the country, its campsites, wells, and resources. This was not just a right: it was an obligation. If one was 'boss for country', then one also had to 'look after' it. Individuals who were able to fulfil this ideal were in the best position for turning structural status and prestige into actual power and authority over others.

III.2.3 Estates.

I now examine the areas of land with which the clans were identified. In the Kuku-Yalanji system in SECYP, the land was divided up into relatively isolable tracts of land, which I term estates (following Stanner 1965). These estates can best be thought of as collections or clusters of sites. These sites could be of various religious, resource or other practical significance. The site clusters had boundaries around them where there existed appropriate environmental markers (e.g. creeks, small mountain ranges, beaches). Such boundaries gave the appearance of bounded, discrete, fixed entities, yet where no markers existed, no boundaries occurred and the estates blurred into each other with a 'no-man's land' between them. Each estate was firmly associated with a particular clan. All estates were named, and this naming could reflect a major site within the estate or an environmental feature.

The upper Annan river area contained nine clan estates roughly equal in area (see Figure 6). Each estate was based on a discrete portion of the greater Annan River system: for instance, Kuna, the drainage from Mt Finnigan (Parrot Creek), Yulbu, the eastern slopes of Mt Poverty (Stony Creek), and so on. The total area for this country (i.e. all nine estates) was about 350 square km an average estate size of about 39 square km each.

Other estates outside of the immediate Annan valley to which I make reference later in the thesis include: Dandi (the Lake and Kings Plains), Yumal (East Normanby), Jukan (northeast of Kings Plains), and Bulkan (Oakey Creek).

In the Bloomfield region there was a distinction made between those estates along the coast and the tidal part of the Bloomfield River, and those inland. The lower Bloomfield River and immediate coastal cluster contained nine estates (see Figure 7). The marine estates were all

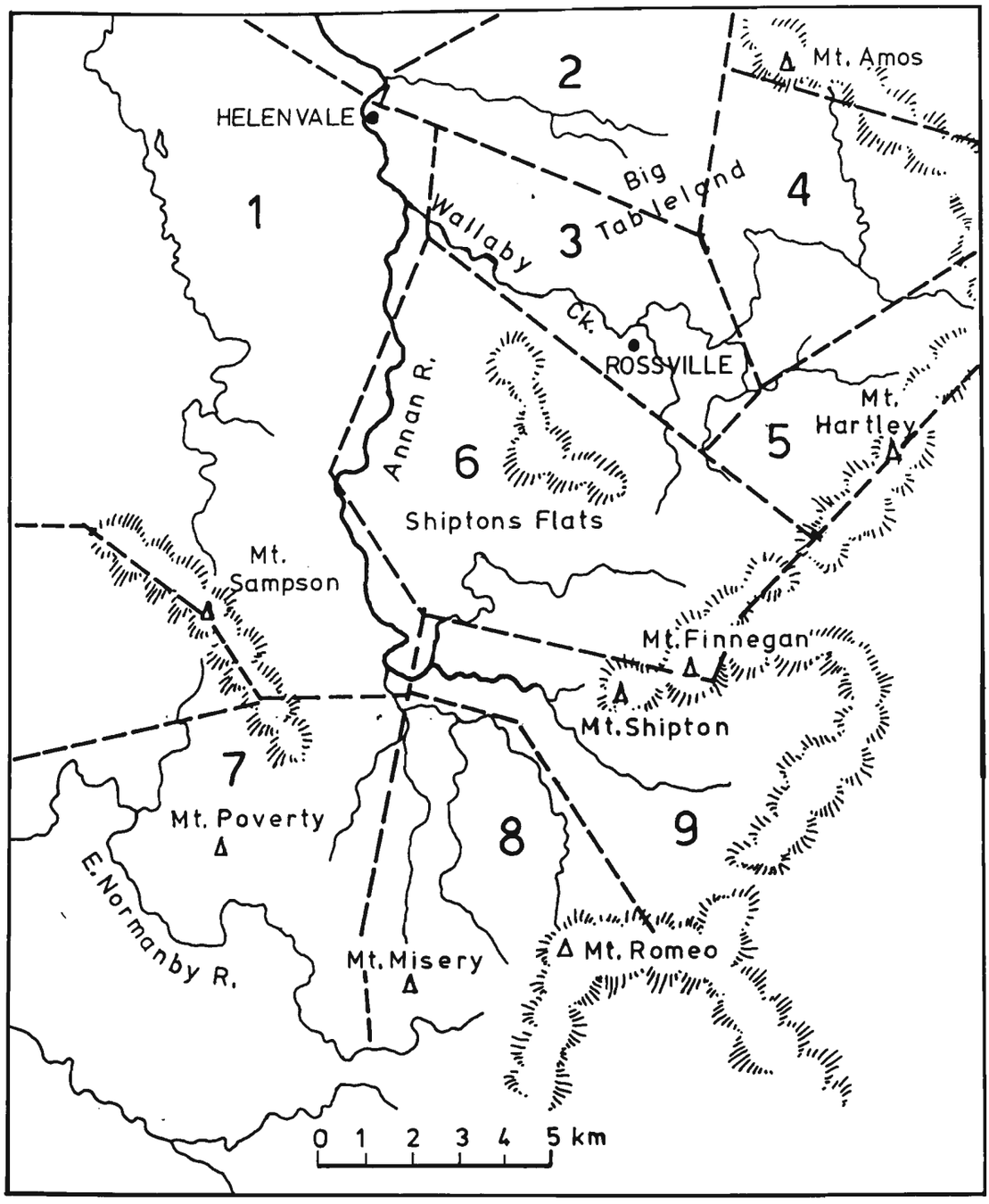

Figure 6 Kuku-Yalanji estates: Upper Annan River.

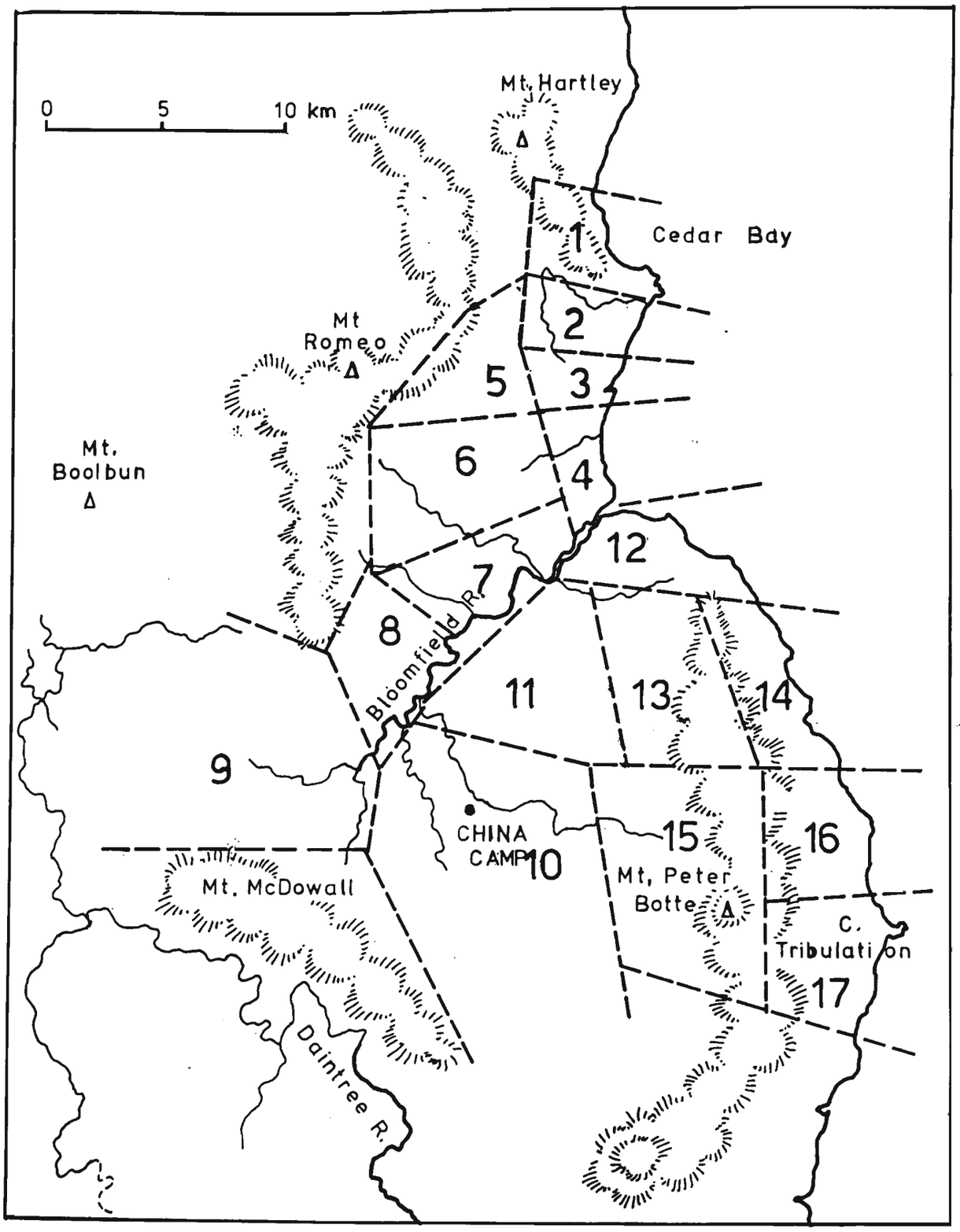

Figure 7 Kuku-Yalanji estates: Bloomfield River.

centred on freshwater creeks emptying onto sand beaches, while the estates along the Bloomfield River were associated with freshwater systems which drained into the river. All these coastal estates had an average length of 4.75 km and extended inland approximately 2 km, which gives an average area of 9.5 square km. This is not wholly accurate, though, as the marine estates extended into the sea for at least several hundred metres, covering the immediate offshore reefs.

The eight inland Bloomfield estates included those on the upper reaches of the Bloomfield River, on Roaring Meg Creek, and in the Mt Boolbun, upper Granite Creek and Main Camp areas (see Figure 7). This area as a whole was about 400 square km and thus each estate averaged about 44 square km (although the estates closest to the Bloomfield River were slightly smaller than those away from it). In both the Annan and Bloomfield areas, both clans and residential groups living on the estate were sometimes known by their creek system, for example, the 'Romeo Creek mob'.

The 'official' Kuku-Yalanji view of human-land relationships was one of equivalence between clans and estates. For individuals, as we have seen, a major defining feature with respect to land was their patriclan membership. Being in a particular clan and belonging to a particular estate also meant that one owned a dialect as well, which was associated with that group and that area. People also generally spoke other dialects in addition to their 'real' one. The dialects associated with the Kuku-Yalanji estates are shown in Table 4.[3]

The Kuku-Yalanji estates listed in Table 4 formed three distinct clusters which were sometimes described as jawunkarra or, in SECYP Aboriginal English, 'nations'. The clusters were focussed on the larger drainage systems of which the individual estates were components. These systems also provided labels for groups - e.g. 'Annan River mob', 'Bloomfield River mob'. Kuku-Yalanji occasionally labelled people of these clusters by means of their associated languages, especially after 1900. Thus anthropologists reported the Annan mob as being called the 'Kuku-Nyungkul'; the coastal Bloomfield mob, the 'Kuku-Yanyu'; and the upper Bloomfield mob, the 'Kuku-Yalunyu'. McConnel (1930; 1931; 1939-

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3. For discussion of these dialects and their linguistic differences see Patz (1982); Dixon (n.d.); and McConnel (1930; 1931; 1939-40).

TABLE 4

Kuku-Yalanji nation clusters, estates and associated dialects

Nation cluster and land/drainage system	Estate	Location*	Dialect
Upper Annan River	*Yulbu*	Stoney Creek (6:7)	Kuku-Nyungkul
" "	*Nyambilnyambil*	Mt. Romeo (6:9)	" "
" "	*Ngarrimurril*	Grasstree (6:8)	" "
" "	*Kuna*	Shipton's Flat (6:6)	" "
" "	*Wulumuban*	The Gap/Mt. Harley (6:5)	" "
" "	*Jiraraku*	Home Rule (6:4)	" "
" "	*Ngulungkaban*	Rossville (6:3)	" "
" "	*Kabu*	Beasley Lagoon/ Helenvale (6:1)	" "
" "	*Muwan*	Big Tableland (6:3)	" "
Upper Bloomfield River	*Wulba*	Watermelon Creek (7:6)	Kuku-Yanyu
" "	*Wujalwujal*	Mission Site (7:7)	" "
" "	*Nurru*	Upper Timbercamp Ck. (7:8)	" "
" "	*Bulban*	Ten-Mile Station (7:9)	" "
" "	*Buru*	China Camp (7:10)	" "
" "	*Walbumurr*	Main Camp (7:11)	" "
" "	*Waru*	Upper Thompson Ck. (7:13)	" "
" "	*Kumarkaja*	Upper Roaring Meg Ck. (7:15)	" "
Lower Bloomfield River (inc. coast)	*Mangkal*	Cedar Bay (7:1)	Kuku-Yalunyu
" "	*Julkur*	Twelve-Mile Scrub (7:2)	" "
" "	*Yalmba*	Upper Plantation Beach (7:3)	" "
" "	*Balabay*	Lower plantation Beach (7:4)	" "
" "	*Kangkaji*	Kangaji Beach (7:12)	" "
" "	*Kaway*	Cowie Beach (7:14)	" "
" "	*Ngamujin*	Emmagon Ck. (7:16)	" "
" "	*Kulki*	Cape Tribulation (7:17)	" "
" "	*Wayalwayal*	Wyalla Plains (7:5)	" "

* These locations refer to Figures 6 and 7 where the estates are numbered.

40) and Sharp (1939) both use these labels for the 'tribes' of SECYP. Interestingly, though, none of the earliest writers - e.g. Hodgkinson (1886), Roth (1898b; 1898c; 1898d; 1910a) - mention such labels. They speak rather of 'tribes' as being the -warra groups, for example, the Banabilawarra tribe. As one goes through time with the sources, the labels used by observers get more inclusive and the units larger. In this thesis I use the term Kuku-Yalanji for people belonging to all three nations. This is for the sake of convenience, but also because it was a term used by people in SECYP at the time of my fieldwork.

Jawunkarra did not only share dialects and estate contiguity. They were free to travel without formal permission over all other estates in the nation and to use the resources there, although there were restrictions (see Chapter IV). The nations were apparently largely endogamous, with all nine recorded marriages which occurred before 1885 having both partners with patrilineal estates in the same nation. Well into the twentieth century there was still a tendency towards nation endogamy: 48 out of 61 marriages (79%) between 1885 and 1915 were ones where both partners were from the same nation. Additionally, where the ideal of birth on one's patriclan estate could not be realised, it still seemed to occur on a nearby estate within the nation. Of those twenty persons born before 1885 for whom I have comprehensive data and who were not born on their father's estate, nineteen (95%) were born within their own nation area. In addition, as I shall show later, it was most often co-nationals who cooperated in certain production activities, particularly when surpluses were available in certain areas at certain times.

III.2.4 Land systems and social boundaries.

In general then, the discrete environmental systems of SECYP discussed in section I.4 were matched by relatively discrete social, cultural and linguistic units. Apart from the focus of estates on small-scale drainage systems and of nations on larger ones, the landscape played other significant roles in the delimitation of the Kuku-Yalanji social universe. The topographic variations which bring about the discrete drainage systems acted also as important

environmental definers for the socio-cultural world at a more general level.[4] As one Kuku-Yalanji man, Mr. Jimmy Ball, described it:

> That Big Tableland there, Bama ['Kuku-Yalanji people'] call-'im ngidin yidjarrin ['barrier']. On this side he belong to this place. That one, that 'nother side, Mt. Amos, he Cooktown side, Kuku-Yimuji mob. He put a mountain that way, right across. All this - Helenvale right through to Black Mountain - all this Kuku-Nyungkul side, no more that side! Warrkin [Helenvale] right up to Kalkajaka [Black Mountain]. Big Tableland go right down to Cedar Bay. Well, Mt. Hartley, that one he go right down. Finish up mangkalba [estate in from Cedar Bay]. He turn back that way and come around [to Mt.] Finnigan, Romeo, Poverty, right through to Beazley. Big lagoon, that one country big plain there. Bubu dandinga [dandi estate]. Kings Plain, Kuku-Bidiji. [Name for the Kings plains group.]
>
> Land from Shipton Flat now, right around. Right through to Poverty. All this land, Kuku-Nyungkul, where he run. He can't go no more 'nother side. 'Nother side of that Munjijubal [Mt. Sampson], he belong to other side - Kings Plain, Butchers Hill mob. Bama belong to that country. This side, Shipton mob. We in like a hollow here.

Apart from their convenience as socio-ecologic markers, the mountain ranges did also act as actual physical barriers to human travel, or at least to regular or frequent travel. As far as I can determine through reconstruction of the locations of early Aboriginal paths and from reports of early white settlers, there was only temporary visiting between, for example, Bloomfield and Annan groups, and all this primarily by way of the track over Stuckeys Gap. Early European reports make far more mention of comings and goings between Rossville and Shipton's Flat areas than between either of these and the Bloomfield region. Just as the Finnigan Range blocked Shipton and Romeo groups from each

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4. Chase, Sutton and von Sturmer elsewhere in CYP, have recorded many of the same features which I describe in this section regarding estate, nation and coastal/inland associations.

other and was seen as an estate boundary, Mt. Hartley with its rugged form and dense vegetation, was designated the divider of Rossville groups on the north, and the Cedar Bay and northern Wyalla Plains groups on the east and south (see Figures 6 and 7). Travel between the Stony Creek, Romeo area and the upper Granite Creek region was described as uncommon and exceedingly difficult. Even experienced bushmen travelling as individual hunters maintained that they: "Couldn't go that way. Too much mountain! Only go half way. Can't get up there. Manjal jabajaba! ['Huge mountain'!]" On the other hand, the creeks and river systems provided ready channels for human travel and were sometimes the only ones, as the explorer Hann found in 1872. Travel from the areas around the upper Bloomfield to the Mt Windsor Tableland region and down onto the upper Palmer region, as well as south to Daintree, was possible only by defined tracks through gaps in the ranges. Natural features such as drainage patterns and topography thus were constraining, static forces within Kuku-Yalanji life. They also provided markers for social boundedness.

Other features of the landscape played a role in defining Kuku-Yalanji social categories. A fundamental distinction in SECYP was that between the inland and coastal environments. This dichotomy was overtly labelled in Kuku-Yalanji and was based on two criteria, the type of water found in a given area and the type of specific environment. Thus bana kalkilji, 'saltwater', was opposed to bana yaralji, 'freshwater', and jalunji, 'of the sea', opposed to ngalkalji, 'outside' or 'away from the sea'. Both sets of terms were used to categorise people, plants, animals, as well as country. The upper Annan River region of the Kuku-Nyungkul-speaking peoples was 'outside', 'freshwater' country par excellence, including as it does, no coastal area nor tidal river zones. This was true also of the upper portions of the Bloomfield River and Roaring Meg Creek areas. On the other hand, places, resources and people associated with the coastal estates were all defined as 'saltwater'. Some groups associated with areas like Thompson Creek and the present mission site at Bloomfield were said to be 'half and half' or 'little bit jalunji'. This reflects their country's proximity to both marine and inland environments.

The coastal-inland dichotomy was also represented in physical yet symbolic form by two 'story places' (sites of totemic significance): Kakan (Mt Hartley), where the freshwater and marine turtles exchanged

their shells, and Dubu mirrkirr (a stone formation west of Cowie Point, which was said to have been a 'devil spirit' prior to turning to stone). In Ngadibajaku, the Creation era, this latter being was said to have created saltwater from his urine, and the location of his stone-remains delineates the sea area from the inland. There were several other symbolic representations of the coastal-inland division, such as prohibitions against mixing up (i.e. eating or cooking at the same time) of saltwater foods and inland foods. Specialization of environmental knowledge was also tied to this division. Inland men in the late 1970s stated that they would never attempt to butcher a sea turtle, and coastal people claimed not to know the finer-grained classification of inland trees. In summary, the division of the entire social and physical world into those categories of things (including people) associated with the sea and those not so associated was one of great significance in the Kuku-Yalanji description and classification of environment.

Other environmental differences reflected in social categories were those based on predominant vegetation. The most general dichotomy, and an important one, was that between vine or rain forest country ('scrub' in north Queensland European and Aboriginal English), and woodland or forest country: respectively, madja and bali. As with the coastal/inland division, the madja/bali classification applied equally to estates, plants, animals and people. The categories were also seen as opposing sets. Madjaji applied to all territory that had a predominance of rain forest vegetation, the people associated with that territory, plants, animals and other things normally found in rain forest environments (see Roth 1910a:82; McConnel 1931:22). Likewise, open-forest country territories and their people and fauna were termed baliji. The suffix -warra, as with patriclan names, was also used here, as in Baliwarra or 'forest mob'.

In general, then, the environment both constrained people physically and provided the basis for categorization of people and land. Kuku-Yalanji used the landscape and its features as a basis for both ascribed and self-imposed social identities.

III.3 Economy.

Up until now we have examined only those relationships between social categories, e.g. clans, nations and the culturally-defined landscape. Of central importance is how Kuku-Yalanji people actually used that same landscape to make a living and what the patterns of actual residence and group composition in that environment were. This section demonstrates that aspects of the forces of production worked against the 'official' or ideal Kuku-Yalanji theory that clan members reside on their estate. First, the sharp seasonal nature of the climate in SECYP meant uneven resource potentials over time. Second, resources and other important things (e.g. processing sites and good campsites) were unevenly distributed between estates. This was especially true given the highly mountainous nature of the country. Third, various production activities required more persons than were available in one clan only.

Data on rainfall from 27 weather stations in SECYP shows that an average of 85.5% of the mean annual rain occurs in the period from November to April (Bureau of Meteorology). Humidity, temperature and evaporation levels are all at their greatest during the summer months. Predominant winds change as the monsoon approaches and cyclones are also prevalent during this period. As mentioned in Chapter I, marked seasonal changes are the defining characteristic of Cape York Peninsula's climate. Kuku-Yalanji people classified seasons on the basis of climatic changes, vegetation changes and the appearance and disappearance of certain major food resources. Seasonal climatic changes were based on precipitation levels (amount of rain or lack thereof, evaporation and degree of dryness), temperature levels and wind and storm activity. Kuku-Yalanji seasonal categories on these bases were as follows:

kambar 'proper wet time': heavy rainfall period. Late December - March;

kabakabada 'winter rain time': occasional light rain. April - May;

buluriji 'cold time': drier weather, cold nights. June - September. The early part of this period was also sometimes termed muyariji ('windy') because of the build-up of the south-easterlies in May and June;

wungariji 'hot time': height of the dry season. Hot days. October - early November. The wind is gentle and from the north;

jarramali 'storm time': Thunderstorms and build-up of wet. Late November - Mid December.

The second dimension along which the year was divided was according to vegetation changes. The impending finish of the wet season was signaled by the floating of ripe, red wabuwabu (an unidentified wild cherry species) in the river. The wet was actually said to be over when kararr kabulmulda ('When the kangaroo grass lie down'.)[5] The noun kararr was occasionally used metonymically to express the notion of an entire seasonal cycle, in other words, the English notion of a year, as in kararr jambul ('two wet seasons') (see Roth 1901a). April and May see the flowering of various species of Acacia, and the winter rain was said to 'come for those flowers'. The cold part of the dry season was marked by the appearance of lemon grass (species unknown), while the flowering of the Sterculia acerifolia signalled the beginning of the hot period. The flowering of the mango, an introduced species, is now also a marker for the hot dry time and the period during which the storms start. The flowering of Castanospermum australe, the Moreton Bay Chestnut, was also the sign for the storms to start at the end of the dry. A great number of plant changes were used as seasonal indicators for the best time to obtain certain resources; for example, when the beach hibiscus flowered, marine turtles were fattest.

It is necessary to examine the seasonal nature of certain resources within the context of the entire cycle of exploitation of resources to understand the Kuku-Yalanji economy. I make this examination on the basis of the division between the coastal and inland regions.

III.3.1 Coastal resources and economy.

The seasonal availability of resources and their exploitation by coastal Kuku-Yalanji are shown in Figure 8. The range of potentially exploitable environments in the Bloomfield coastal region was very great. Significant ones for the Kuku-Yalanji economy were the marine reefs and shallow water areas, islands and coral cays, beaches, fresh-

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5. This grass is either Heteropogon triticeus or Imperata arundacea.

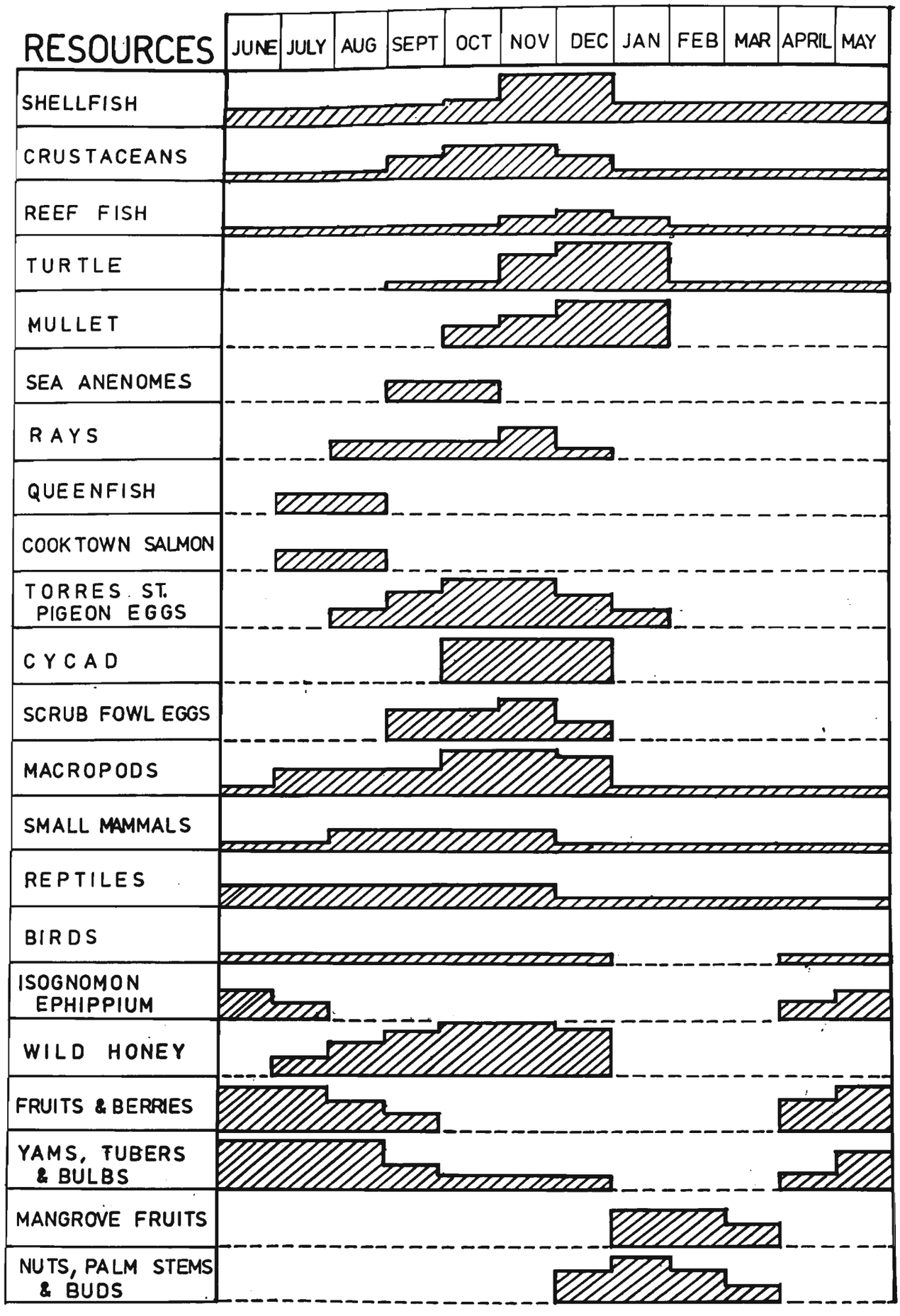

Figure 8 Kuku-Yalanji seasonal resource exploitation in coastal SECYP.

water creeks, tidal creeks, mangroves and swamps, littoral thickets, lowland rainforest, and open woodland forest. Each of these environments provided different sets of resources which were exploited on a year-round or seasonal basis. The principal focal points for residence and activity for coastal Kuku-Yalanji were the beaches and freshwater creeks.

Unlike much of the Peninsula, particularly the west coast and areas of the far northeast coast where the beach stretches uninterrupted for many kilometres, the section of coastline from Port Douglas to Cooktown is characterised by few sandbeach areas. The coast from Cape Tribulation to Cedar Bay is mostly steep hill and mountain descending directly to the water's edge. From a Kuku-Yalanji perspective, these rugged coastal areas were simply uninhabitable. About every four to five kilometres along this coast, though, are small bays and coves with white sandy beaches and one or two freshwater creeks emptying into them. These beaches were the focal points of residence and of economic life for coastal people. The earliest historical sources describe Aboriginal camps in just these locations: Meek (1913:35) reports one in Cedar Bay in 1893, Roth (1898a:2) one on Plantation Beach, Rowan (1912:36) one at Bloomfield in 1892, and King (1827:I:208) ones at Banabila near Wangabaja Beach just south of the Bloomfield mouth, and Le Souef (1896:153) ones at Cowie and at Emmogen Creek. Present-day Kuku-Yalanji also report permanent camps at Kangkaji Beach and south of Cape Tribulation at Mason and Myall Creeks.

Aboriginal movement was thus primarily north and south between these permanent camps with seasonal forays inland to upland areas for wallaby, yams and tubers and wild honey and to freshwater streams for eelfish and freshwater tortoise. Plantation Beach, seven kilometres long and by far the longest stretch of beach in this region, was also the major centre for occasional large gatherings. The combination of its large creek, swamp and mangrove system as well as the year-round occurrence of good quantities of 'pipis' (small ocean bivalves), made Plantation an important living area.

The staple items of coastal Kuku-Yalanji diet in the first part of the dry season were the yams, tubers and bulbs, most particularly Dioscorea sativa var. rotunda - the 'hairy yam'. This yam was probably the most important vegetable food item in the Kuku-Yalanji diet forming the mainstay for up to five months. It is a prolific yam and grows in a

range of environments, on river and creek banks, the edges of swamps and rain forest, and in the more sandy soiled open forest. Access to them was thus easy for all coastal dwellers. Freshwater creeks were also necessary for leaching the yam product once it was cooked (see Hodgkinson 1886:12; Roth 1901a:11-12).

Many fruits and berries, particularly the cherry guava, Indian almond, quandong and Burdekin plum ripened in the mid dry. These were common in the littoral thicket zones adjacent to most of the beaches. Another staple in the late dry was the flour-like product of roasted, crushed, leached and dried cycad nuts. These nuts were only available at a limited number of places in the Bloomfield hinterland. Each estate did not have stands. Unprocessed nuts could also be stored into the early wet. 'Sugarbag' (wild honey) was another important food item for coastal peoples, and it was obtained from the forest country surrounding the Bloomfield River, on Wyalla Plains and above Kangaji Beach. Informants during my fieldwork, when giving lists of food 'from early days' invariably placed yams and tubers (because of their quantities) and sugarbag (because of their preference for it) at the beginning of such lists (see also Roth 1898b; 1898c).

Fishing was generally practised throughout the year. Even when the sea was rough and the waters murky, the river and estuarine creeks could be fished with hook and line (see Rowan 1912:110). Otherwise, spears were used (Roth 1909b:199) by men standing in shallow water or spearing from a canoe. Species which were most often obtained included small sharks, giant herring, mackeral, barracuda, cod and rays. Fish was one of the most important components of coastal Kuku-Yalanji diet. Although a semi-opportunistic resource, it was generally available across the seasonal calender. Kuku-Yalanji had great knowledge of fish behaviour and habitats, and the coastal people were renowned as good fishermen (see Roth 1910a:92). Fish were considered an essential part of a coastal meal, and catches of good quantity and quality enhanced general family and group prestige. Several fish species were only available seasonally: the queenfish, the Cooktown salmon and, to a lesser extent, mullet. The latter species, especially Mugil cephalus and Valamugil seheli, came into the creeks and up the river in quantity at the end of the dry when the first big rains began. This was also the time when most fish species were said to be at their fattest and most desirable.

Other major resources which peaked during the dry season included Torres Strait pigeons and their eggs from several offshore islands and scrub fowl eggs obtained from the many large nests in the lowland rainforests adjacent to the coast between Archer Point and Daintree (see Le Souef 1894:16). Hunting of macropods, small mammals and reptiles was also at its highest level during the dry season (see Hodgkinson 1886:11). During the early wet season, most major vegetable foods were available and hunting of land animals began to decrease. This was compensated for by the pursuit of marine turtles, at their fattest and most easy to obtain at this time. Turtles were generally available most of the year, but were said to be 'poor' in September and October and difficult to get then owing to high winds and choppy seas. In December and early January, the turtles could be easily harpooned from canoes in the calm shallow waters on the reefs just off the coast. Dugongs appear not to have been hunted in the Bloomfield region. The wet season proper (January to March) was the leanest time for coastal Kuku-Yalanji. The sea was rough, the wind blowing and creeks and rivers too muddy to fish. Important vegetable food staples during this period were the fruits of two species of mangrove, Bruguiera gymnorhiza and Avicennia marina.

The mainstay of coastal subsistence year-round however was undoubtedly shellfish. Neither luck nor chance was involved as Kuku-Yalanji knew exactly where and when they could obtain particular species. Their reliability meant that gathering could be done and stopped at any time and a surplus easily produced if required, an essential consideration when large sedentary camps were involved. There was a distinction made by the Kuku-Yalanji between those shells which came from mangrove/mud/creek environments and those from reef/rocks/beach environments. There were nine important species of the former and 20 species of the latter. By far the most important shellfish utilised for food on the coast was Donax deltoides, the 'pipi'. These were available year-round and almost every day depending on the tides. Shoals of them come in with the tide and work their way into the soft, still wet sand where they can be easily dug.

As noted, the tidal creeks, freshwater wells and beaches were central to the coastal Kuku-Yalanji economy. Each coastal estate was based on an area containing all these. This did not mean that each estate was self-sufficient, an entity unto itself, or that its clan members could all live only on their own estate. Seasonality and the

uneven distribution of resources prevented this. At certain times of the year, many of the lower coastal people moved up to the Bloomfield mouth. Estates such as Kaway, Kulki, and Ngamujin being smaller than, for example, Balabay and Kangkaji, did not have the large tidal river of the former nor the extensive and close reef system of the latter. Although shellfish and fishing did provide support for beach camps all year-round, the dry-season peaking of several important resources at locations away from camp bases meant that small, temporary target camps were set up to gather, process and consume these resources. The great resource concentrations along and around the Bloomfield River, especially the mangrove shellfish and mullet in Plantation Creek, were great 'drawcards' for Kuku-Yalanji from all areas of SECYP.

III.3.2 Inland resources and economy.

A defining feature of the Annan and upper Bloomfield basin economies was their almost wholly inland focus. There was no regular or frequent access to coastal resources, even though the Annan territories were at most only eight to ten kilometres from the coast and the Bloomfield ones even less. Inland groups did occasionally come down onto the Weary Bay coastline as guests of coastal groups for brief visits and to share in resource surpluses there. In the inland area, four types of environment were habitually exploited: upper montane and riverine rain forest, open eucalypt and woodland forests, freshwater creeks and their immediate environs and flat seasonally inundated plains with lagoons and lakes.

In general, the focal point of economic life was undoubtedly the freshwater creek tributaries of the Annan and Bloomfield Rivers where good sandy campsites, shade and proximity to year-round fresh water could be found on most estates. Dry season camps were in the sandy beds of the smaller dry creeks or on the sandy terraces along the banks of the running creeks. Wet season camps were generally on the ridges between creek gullies, well above flood level, but not too far from water supplies. Some specific camping sites were known, named and regularly used, but more generally, tracts or lengths of creek were the occupation domain with periodic moves up and down stream a small distance. Camp movements were generally made when the amounts of domestic refuse near the camps built up to offensive levels (see Le Souef

1897:158). This creek movement pattern of occupation applied to the smaller nuclear-based family groups exploiting such non-seasonal opportunistic resources as eelfish, tortoises, wallabies and goannas. It also applied to people exploiting seasonal, bulk-supply resources such as cycad nuts, the harvesting and preparation of which brought large groups of 100 or so people together at specific sites along the Annan River and around China Camp on Roaring Meg Creek.

In summary, the pattern of group movement which was the norm in the inland regions of SECYP was one of short distance shifts within a series of major camps along the creeks. These camps were larger and more concentrated in the wet season than in the dry, when smaller family groups would establish temporary, 'branch' camps to exploit dry season resources. Resource availability and exploitation periods for the inland Kuku-Yalanji are shown in Figure 9.

The first half of the inland Kuku-Yalanji dry season, after the winter rains had ceased, was a time of abundant vegetable and fruit resources. While the most highly desired fruits ripened in the period June to August, other species were available throughout the dry season. There were at least 50 recognised edible species, most of which were found either in rain forest, on its margins or within gallery forests along major creeks.

As with the coastal-dwellers, tubers, bulbs and wild yams (available from the mid-dry on until November or so) were the corner-stone of the inland Kuku-Yalanji diet. Dry season resources of this nature included nine species of tubers, three species of bulbs and eleven species of yams. Once again, lists of dietary items from the 'old days' given me by inlanders invariably began with tubers and yams. Species mentioned as mainstays included wild arrowroot and four varieties of Dioscorea sativa. One of the latter, the rotunda variety, was clearly a most important vegetable resource in this area (see Hodgkinson 1886:12 and Roth 1901a:11-12). Wukay, the Kuku-Yalanji name for this yam, was prolific, plentiful and was a food staple for some three to four months of the year. In fact, this period from about June to September was known as 'wukay-time'.

Towards the end of the dry season, the nuts of the zamia palm (Cycas media) became the staple food source. These plants grew prolifically in concentrated stands at certain places in the inland regions of the Bloomfield and on the Annan River. The nuts were most

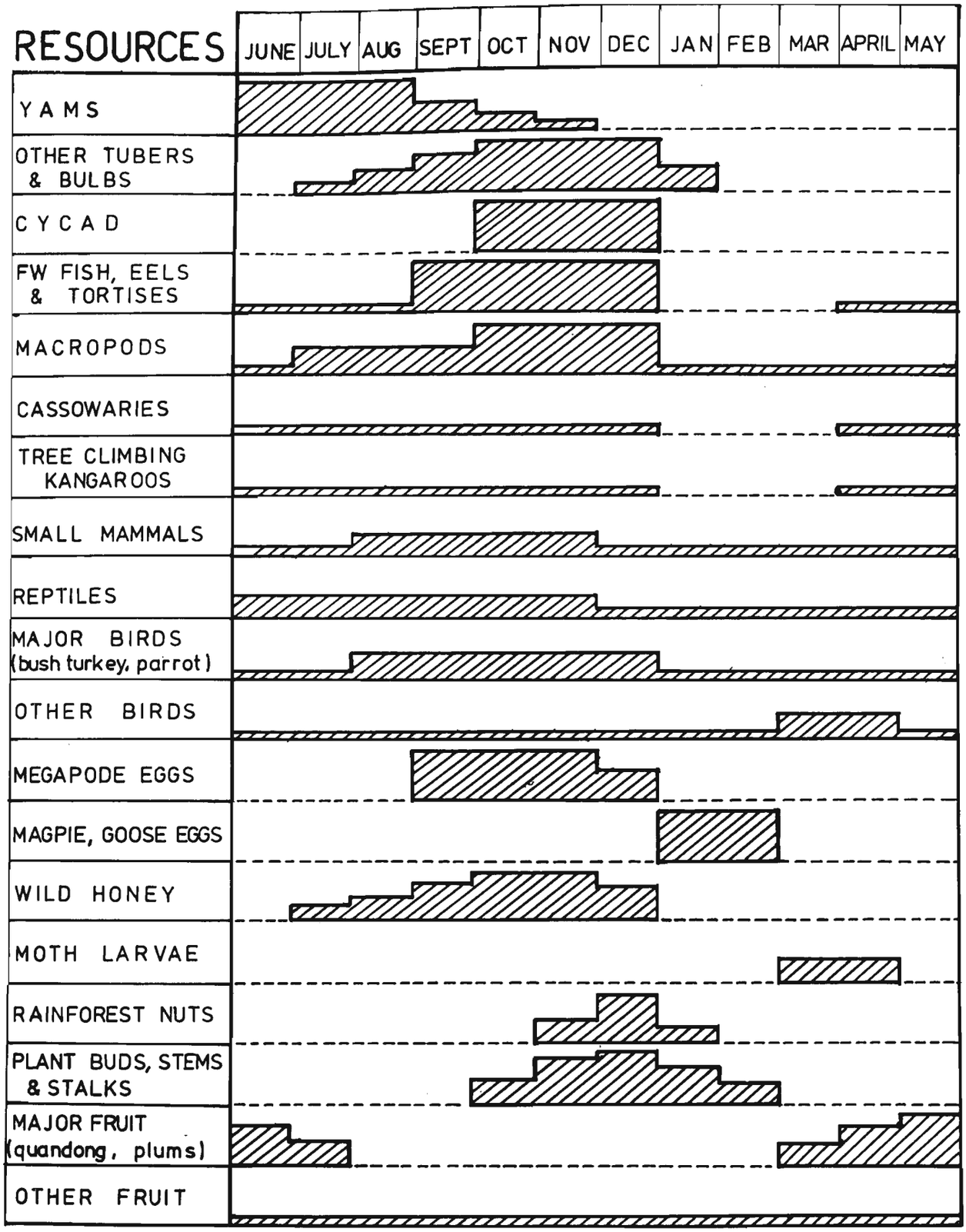

Figure 9 Kuku-Yalanji seasonal resource exploitation in inland SECYP.

readily available in the hot part of the dry season from August to November. The important position of the nuts in the Kuku-Yalanji diet is seen in the extraordinary number of references in the historical literature to the finding of cycad nuts or shells in Kuku-Yalanji camps (see Rowan 1912:116; Roth 1901a:11; Hodgkinson 1886:12; Hann 1873:17; King 1827:I:208; McConnel 1930). The zamia nuts were processed by roasting, smashing and leaching at several central sites on the major watercourses. These sites were specific to some estates only. The processing of the nuts at one or two special sites along the bigger creeks drew large groups of Kuku-Yalanji together for periods of several weeks during this time. In the late dry season, the poisoning of larger water holes for fish was also practised. Sugarbag was a much sought after resource at this time as well (see Le Souef 1894:27; McConnel 1931:22; Idriess 1980 [1959]:246-7).

With the build-up of the thunderstorms in late November and December, the communal wallaby drives began. These employed selective burning-off and bush-beating, and apparently the process was carried out on a large scale with groups (up to 100 people) controlling different sections of the moving lines and lighting fires for the drive. Informants report a strong element of competitiveness between groups as to whose bush-beating line was loudest, whose fires were best placed and timed, and of course, who got the best results. Not only wallabies but other small mammals and reptiles were also obtained during these drives. Meyer (1891a), Le Souef 1894:13), Hodgkinson (1886:11) and Roth (1901a:29) all mention this form of hunting in SECYP. General burning off was also performed at the end of the dry to clear the landscape of undergrowth, to make it easier for travelling and to attract wallabies and other animals to new plant growth. The flowering in September of the 'bean tree' (Castanospermum australe) heralded the commencement of 'jarruka time' - the laying season for the moundbuilders: bush turkey and scrub fowl. The eggs of the latter were a particularly important source of protein at this time.

The early wet season was a time of relative scarcity in the inland economy. Both Roth and the early settlers in the area commented on the difficulty of Aboriginal life during the wet season.[6] The mainstays during this time were rain forest tree nuts and palm stems, plant buds

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6. See Roth (1898a:14) and Masterton (1892).

and stalks. Ten species of nuts were utilised, the 'candlenut' (Aleurites moluccana) being the most desired. Most of the nut species were not particularly relished, being either unpleasant or arduous to prepare. However, the advantage of the nuts was their long-lasting quality. They could be kept for several months, and this meant they could be gathered and stored in the wet season camps, minimizing the journeys people had to make at a time of almost constant rain and reduced mobility. As one Annan man, John Walker, expressed it: "Summertime [dry season] all right. Hot then, you can camp anywhere. That's the way Bama [Kuku-Yalanji people] used to go, in the summertime. Oh, camp anywhere. In wet weather, come back. Bubu bunday ['stay in one's own country']. Stay home."

However, the one exception to the wet season hardship was the exploitation by large numbers of people (including neighbouring Kuku-Bidiji, Kuku-Warra, and Kuku-Yimuji) of the magpie goose eggs in February. These were gathered from the flooded lakes and lagoons of Kings Plains and the area west of Helenvale. Additional resources exploited were the swamp tubers and bulbs and wild rice. The end of the wet in the winter rain period brought a return to a dependence on stored nuts and buds and shoots. The only delicacy of this period was bulngu, a moth larvae which was available in good quantities and which was roasted in the fire and eaten whole. (The name bulngu was sometimes used metonymically to refer to this time of year). Like the early wet, this period was, until the flowering of the wattles and ripening of early dry season fruit and vegetables in April and May, a relatively lean time.

The inland Kuku-Yalanji economy was a highly seasonal one. Although certain resources (fish, tortoises and small game) were available on a semi-opportunistic basis all year round, the staple carbohydrate food resources of yams, tubers, bulbs and cycad nuts were only obtainable at certain times of the year. In addition, important sources of protein - geese and megapode eggs, fish from waterholes, and meat from wallaby drives - were seasonal in nature and only obtainable from certain places. The general configuration of movement was one of dry season dispersal and wet season aggregation with little movement. [7]

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7. Idriess (1980 [1959]:238-260) gives a good description of a 'summertime walkabout' near China Camp.

The exceptions to this pattern were the gatherings in the dry for cycad production and the large-scale gathering for geese eggs in the middle of the wet. Even dry season movement was probably limited in scope with major camps shifting up and down major creeks. Men travelled more and further than women because their dominant economic activity (hunting) required it and because they, unlike women, were permitted to travel alone (cf. von Sturmer 1978). Apart from those shifts already mentioned, the only other large-scale move by inlanders was down to Weary Bay and the lower Bloomfield in the late dry. Excluding these, individual travel and camp shifts seem to have been somewhat circumscribed. However, the inland focus of the economy and its lack of resource items which could produce (however small) a year-round surplus meant greater dependence on semi-opportunistic resources and a greater degree of movement to exploit the seasonal staples. Thus, probably more so than with the coastal peoples, seasonality and economic considerations operated as dynamic forces in Kuku-Yalanji life in the inland regions.

In both the coastal and inland economies, the small nuclear-based family was the most significant production and consumption unit. Hodgkinson (1886:6), Rowan (1912:40), Idriess (1980 [1959]:240), Roth (1901a:10) and especially McConnel (1931:22-23) all mention the ubiquity of the family here. Even in larger groups, separate hearths and sleeping areas were maintained by families, with children going freely back and forth between separate group-areas within the camp. Some single relative of either adult in the family, an unmarried sister or a widowed parent, would also often be attached to a family camp. Production tasks were organized within the family and distribution generally remained within it, although surpluses or windfalls were shared in the wider camp or to other camps and gifts might be made to certain individuals.

III.4 Residence.

In this chapter I have argued that not only was the SECYP landscape a highly individuated and culturised one, but that a formal Aboriginal model existed which mapped structural units of the society onto the land. Cultural values relating to occupation and usage of one's own country also operated as significant forces impelling the model towards

reality. The landscape itself constrained Kuku-Yalanji social intercourse, and this fact was used as a further means of categorization of people and land. These two systems, land tenure and landscape, tended to produce an orthodoxy of 'tradition', an ideologically-based static model of nature and of human relationships with it. How such a view was maintained and by whom is the subject of the next chapter. However, the question of the model's success in application remains. A number of dynamic forces worked against it to produce patterns of residence substantially different from the ideal model. I have presented data on seasonality and economy for both coastal and inland Kuku-Yalanji, and these two factors affected actual residence in several ways. In summary:

(i) Most of the major Kuku-Yalanji staples were seasonal and were located in different environments and at different sites. Residence thus had to fluctuate in time and space as a function of these staples (although this was less so on the coast);

(ii) Important ecozones and thus resources were not evenly distributed across estates. No estate with its people was economically self-sufficient, although some approached it;

(iii) Seasonal climatic forces greatly affected mobility and residence. In the dry season, inland campsite locations with good water must have been reasonably scarce, whereas in the wet, the heavy prolonged rainfall and swollen creeks made travel almost impossible for much of the period;

(iv) Production process requirements and surpluses of several important resources enabled major moves to central locations by large numbers of people. Cycad processing on the Annan and at Wyalla Plains brought large groups together at a handful of sites for weeks at a time in the mid-dry. Kangaroo drives, utilising large numbers of people, had big temporary camps associated with them, and magpie geese eggs brought large numbers of people from all over SECYP to Kings Plains for up to a month at a time. Finally marine turtle and shellfish surpluses brought both inland Bloomfield and Annan peoples onto the Weary Bay coastline.

All these factors encouraged and fostered fluidity of residence for most Kuku-Yalanji, whose residence sites, both within and between estates, were not equivalent. Certain sites, for example, those at the junctions of major creeks and at their mouths, would all have been highly preferred for their proximity to resources, their strategic value for defence purposes, and the first rate opportunities for monitoring

from such sites other peoples' movements (i.e. the sites were 'crossroads') (see Chase 1980:157; von Sturmer 1978:427).

There were several other factors which would have been at least as significant in creating residence patterns which diverged from the ideal. As I showed in Chapter II, there has often been a confusion in the literature between clans as groups with common descent ties, and hordes as groups of males tied by descent, living on their own estate along with their spouses from other clans. However, regardless of how these terms have been used, the assumption has been one of a 'rational' allocation of groups to estates: each estate with its own group whose membership is more or less permanent and who stay on the estate and use it almost exclusively; in other words, the fulfillment of the Kuku-Yalanji ideal. I maintain that this model only held true in SECYP for certain times of the year, for some estates and for some people only. The question revolves around the issue of residence and what brought it about. What was the basis of group composition? There are several points which suggest it need not necessarily have been descent:

(i) There seems no necessary or logical reason to assume that hordes - economically interacting and coresidential groups - were based on one clan. As Chapter II demonstrates, the literature reveals that they normally contained a number of nuclear families, as well as various people from several different clans. There is no logical reason to assume that the ties between the major family groups could not have been based on links between women, or links based on other relationships. In any case, as von Sturmer (1978:66) has argued, it seems probable that in an instance of competing loyalty between a man's family of procreation and his own clan, the former would take precedence - at least if he wanted to maintain that unit as an ongoing entity. McConnel's (1931:21-22) comments on the family at Bloomfield support this;

(ii) While co-residence need not necessarily have meant corporate action across the board (cf. Sutton 1978), common descent also may not have been a sufficient basis for joint action, particularly if there were other forces creating cross-cutting loyalties. A powerful force against such action within a descent group may have been rivalry between equivalent categories of kin, for example, siblings. There is no reason to believe that such rivalry was not as much a force against co-residence as descent was in favour of it (cf. von Sturmer 1978:283);

(iii) Marriage ensured a movement of people between estates and a

cross-cutting of clan loyalties. Although virilocal residence rules meant a tendency towards residence on the man's father's estate, it also meant two other things: (a) that there was a person, namely a man's spouse, living on the estate who was not a member of its clan and whose primary ties would be with another estate; and (b) that new ties to another estate by the woman's children and her husband would be established with that marriage. Kuku-Yalanji today speak of the close relationship which existed between a person and his or her mother's father. He is said to have often 'grown up' his daughter's children. Presumably this could only have occurred if the children either visited him often or lived for periods of time with him. Roth (1910a:82) states that for the Bloomfield area "a child has claims on both its father's or its mother's country." Ease of travel within one's nation was partly because of membership within that nation, but it was also due to a person having rights in mother's, spouse's, mother's mother's, mother's father's, and father's mother's countries. These ties were, according to contemporary Kuku-Yalanji, almost on a par with those gained through father as far as occupation and other rights were concerned. Certainly at least in the latter part of the last century, residence on mother's father's country seems to have been common in SECYP;

(iv) There are other bases for group affiliation and loyalty. For example, there were regular and often shared economic activities which linked people from different clans on cooperative enterprises, as with turtle hunting. As well, there were age-grades which meant that men shared initiation experience (see Chapter IV; also Roth 1910a:98; von Sturmer 1978:402);

(v) Kuku-Yalanji and European informants bear out the historical references (e.g. Roth and Idriess) to the high degree of mobility of young adult males. This occurred for several reasons: visiting other males of the same age, looking for 'action' or seeking fights or excitement, avoiding fights or retribution, exploiting kin ties in other camps to 'sponge' meals until tolerance wore thin and hospitality demanded reciprocal economic input and the seeking of spouses or sexual partners (see Sutton 1978:81; von Sturmer 1978:408; Denham 1975:149);

(vi) There is no evidence to suggest that the -warra groups recorded by various observers and listed in Table 3, were strictly clans. They are often rather referred to as physical groups, as people camping together. In fact today (and see also Oates et al. 1964:10), the suffix -warra

attached to an estate or place name refers equally to established residence regardless of clan affiliation, as it does to clan ties. A group camping on an estate can thus, over time, become known as that estate's -warra, regardless of their 'real' association. Roth (1910a:81-82) also speaks of residence as a prime basis in SECYP for identification with group or area;
(vii) There is much evidence from elsewhere in CYP that residence groups were mixed in composition with respect to clan affiliation: Sharp (1934a); von Sturmer (1978:474-475); Chase (1980:160); and Sutton (1978:90-91).

III.5 Conclusion.

My argument in this chapter has been that although the landscape and the Kuku-Yalanji system of land tenure exerted a static influence on the Kuku-Yalanji universe, certain other forces operated to make the real world slightly more fluid than the ideal model would suggest. These included the flux in residence caused by seasonal changes, uneven resource distribution and the nature of certain important resources and their production. Other difficulties for the ideal model of strict clan - estate residence association included kin loyalties cross-cutting descent, intra-clan rivalries working against co-residence, the centrality of the nuclear family as an economic unit as opposed to the clan, the new ties and obligations created by marriage and mobility of young men. All these produced residential groups of changing size and composition, according to season, resource dependency and political exigency. However, the environment of SECYP, with its rich diverse resource base and permanent water, did facilitate large, semi-permanent Kuku-Yalanji camps for much of the year. These camps, or residential groups, according to my argument were mixed in composition and were the important units of Kuku-Yalanji political and economic life.

An important issue which remains then is the basis of these residential groups. There does seem to have been at least one large group (the -warra groups of the list in Table 3) for many of the estates. This implies that these groups had an identity whose existence endured despite the flux. It is also necessary to account for the persistence of the orthodox, ideal model of Kuku-Yalanji land affiliation. Such issues are best explained if we think of the model as

applying to some people only. In other words, some people were able to stay on their patrilineal estates year round. It happened too that these were also the people who set or defined 'tradition'. Thus there was an ideology of a clan being based on its estate, whereas it was really only the clan of one central person. Such people formed nuclei around whom and between whom, the others went. The universe was static for these nuclei because they defined the universe and the reality of residence for them was their mob on their estate. For all the other people, 'reality' was a large number of options for residence on a host of bases, descent being only one. I propose that it was these former people of high status who largely accounted and set the parameters for group composition and provided its crystallization point. The following chapter examines in detail the relations of production and the role of ideology in pre-contact Kuku-Yalanji life in an attempt to determine the identity of these focal persons and how they achieved their positions.

Chapter IV: Ngujakura: Ideology and Kuku-Yalanji relations of production.

IV.1 Introduction.

As I suggested in Chapter III, for Kuku-Yalanji people there existed no significant distinction between nature, its resources and the actions necessary to exploit them, and the socio-cultural system in which people lived. There was an on-going process of the assimilation of nature to culture and vice versa. The environment, imbued with the active spirit and substance of the creative power of the heroes of the 'before-time', and of human spirits following death, was something that acted and reacted according to the state of affairs in the living, human social world. Because of this quality of the environment, components of it could be manipulated and utilised for human ends. Climatic changes and food resource levels and quality were all linked to human action.

Living in the real world, or making a living in the material sense, was thus much more than simply undertaking certain activities in a certain way which then produced food to eat and tools to use, etc. Such activities could only occur because of, and within, the social and cultural framework. Reproduction of Kuku-Yalanji society in the physical sense was considered only possible by the maintenance of a particular set of social and cultural relationships. This set of relationships is glossed by the Kuku-Yalanji term Ngujakura, today referred to in English in SECYP as 'Law'. Ngujakura refers to the source, time and place of the creation of all life. This was the setting in which animals and other natural species and phenonmena had social personality and agency and could metamorphose. These ancestral beings were thought to have left tangible traces of their activities and power in certain discrete places in the environment. Kuku-Yalanji belief also held that the rules and laws which governed everyday behaviour, including economic activities and social relationships had also been left by these beings for humans as a kind of charter. Yet the relationship between the actual laws within Kuku-Yalanji society and Ngujakura appears to have been only a vague and general one. I have no evidence from contemporary Kuku-Yalanji mythology or from the historical record of actual rules being set forth in the 'stories' from Ngujakura. Nor in fact is there commonly a negative relationship, with the heroes

breaking rules and suffering the consequences, and thus being held up as examples. This is not to say that Kuku-Yalanji myths are merely tales which bore no relationship to real life. I argue, following Stanner (1959-61, 1963) and Hiatt (1983), that Ngujakura, rather than being a specific blueprint for life, was more a general and symbolic statement about the form which social life took. Its force, too, was a pragmatic one in that it was invoked to secure conformity with an actual set of living rules. However, such rules were defined, interpreted, altered, waived (and broken) by humans, and generally by a particular set of humans - older males. In this sense they were not timeless religious edicts, although they may have been cast that way. Ngujakura was to a large extent ideological in nature because it masked and mystified social reality. This reality was the social relations of production which lay at the very basis of Kuku-Yalanji society (cf. Bern 1979).

With the view of nature built into beliefs about Ngujakura, physically surviving in an economic and spiritual sense meant being bound into a particular set of social relations. And, it was stressed that it was only this social structure and its relationship, via certain persons within the structure, with what was invoked as the ultimate source of power (Ngujakura) that protected humans from harm and kept the environment producing the resources necessary for life. In this way Ngujakura was seen as the only path which ensured that humans stayed alive and well, that the yams would ripen and be where they should be, that the shellfish would continue to arrive, that children would be born normal and healthy and that the physical world would be as it should be. More pragmatically, Ngujakura defined access to the means of production.

This chapter looks at the social relations of production within Kuku-Yalanji society. I demonstrate that prior to 1880 it was through Ngujakura that adult males in general were able to maintain structural dominance over all other Kuku-Yalanji. Although Ngujakura was seen as the only means of maintaining Kuku-Yalanji life, it was also a mechanism and a justification for this domination. Specifically, I describe how adult males in general:

(i) dominated the economy through their control of food distribution;
(ii) dominated women by controlling the marriage system and by enforcing the low status of women;
(iii) dominated young men and restricted their access to knowledge, marriage partners and power by the control of several ceremonies.

I also look at how the relationship between older men and Ngujakura was perceived by Kuku-Yalanji people generally and the judicial control which arose from that relationship. Finally, I discuss status positions in general in this society and suggest that there were important distinctions made between individuals within a generally dominant social category. I suggest that it was particular individuals able to build on the foundation of their already dominant position to achieve a higher level of status, who had the means to manage even more closely other persons' economic, social and residential realities.

A comment is necessary on sources for this chapter. As with the previous chapter, I present here a reconstruction of patterns as they were in SECYP around 1880 or so. I have therefore relied to a certain extent on oral accounts of older Kuku-Yalanji of things they saw when they were young, but more especially of things told them by their parents and grandparents. Much of my data also came from primary historical sources. These include contemporary European observers such as Hislop, Roth, Le Souef, Hodgkinson, Idriess and Rowan. I have mentioned in Chapter I some of the problems with this data and the often active role in events described played by these 'observers'. They were obviously not simply ethnographers. Apart from their roles 'on the scene', they, like anyone, were affected in their interpretations by the current views and intellectual fashions concerning Aboriginal society. Roth, as a trained natural scientist (see I.2.1), approached ethnographic data in the natural history manner of the biologists and botanists of the day. He was concerned with widely documenting and cataloguing customs, objects, languages, and people. He, like Idriess, was clearly fascinated with what they perceived to be the more abstract or 'spiritual' aspects of Kuku-Yalanji life - including religion, magic and power. Writers like Le Souef and Rowan were concerned to describe the Aborigines in the same careful way which they did other aspects of the natural environment, and as I show in Chapter V, Aborigines were seen by Europeans at this time to be part of the environment. Nevertheless, I am convinced that these writers, and particularly Roth and Idriess, were good observers. Roth also relied on Robert Hislop (as did Hodgkinson on Louis Bauer, another local European) and both Hislop and Bauer were longtime residents with close associations with Kuku-Yalanji. As I stated in Chapter I, most of the observations of these Europeans are internally consistent with each other and are in line with

data I obtained from older Kuku-Yalanji in the late 1970s. In this chapter then, I have used these historical sources extensively. However, I have indicated in the text where I use a reference which I feel needs some caution in interpretation.

IV.2 Ngujakura and the Kuku-Yalanji economy.

In this section I describe the central role of Ngujakura in the Kuku-Yalanji economy. The force of its ideology ensured a wide distribution of resources through kinship and an ethos of sharing, but at the same time, channelled them in particular directions.

IV.2.1 General distribution of resources.

An important part of Ngujakura, the Law, was the notion of generalized relatedness and the stress on sharing of resources with kin or relations. Kinship was an integral part of the Law and consisted of a system of relationships which formed the fabric of social and economic life itself. In Kuku-Yalanji terms the kinship system was all-encompassing. One was either kin or else beyond the realm of humanity. There was no place for a human stranger without kin ties (see Roth 1906:7-8). Within the Kuku-Yalanji universe all persons were related through consanguineal, affinal or classificatory ties.

However, the most intensive economic interaction among the Kuku-Yalanji took place within the family unit. Family group units retained their identity even within those economic activities which required complex co-operation; wallaby drives and cycad gathering and processing are examples. An important ideal for both men and women was providing for one's immediate family. McConnel (1931:21-22) states that at Bloomfield: "The individual family with the paiyan ['camp'] as its home, and its social responsibilities - the husband contributing minya (meat) from the hunt and the wife gathering and preparing maiyi (vegetable food) and bearing children - is the central basis of social life from which the complex network of social relationships which compose Koko-yalunyu society is derived." People who were good in the bush and skilful at hunting or fishing, for example, who provided well for their families and who rarely requested food from outside their own immediate relations were seen as malanganyi ('good citizens'- my gloss).

Generalized sharing of resources was also an important ideal. As shown in Chapter III, Aboriginal life in SECYP was characterised by a great deal of freedom of movement across estates and of common usage of resources in a nation cluster of estates. Roth (1906:8) mentions that for this area the 'community' as a whole had the right to hunt and roam generally over the 'tribal' territory (although he does not define 'community' or 'tribe' here). Roth also notes how rarely the offence of trespass or illicit resource exploitation was committed "on account of their very hospitality when one family experiences a super-abundance of food of any description, its friends and neighbours are generally invited to come and partake of it" (p. 8). There was strong social pressure brought to bear on individuals and families for a general distribution of surplus foods, even where they could be preserved. Others expected this distribution, and the holder of the goods wanted to use the distribution of surplus to build up credit. Roth (1906:9) reports minor 'crimes' such as the breaking of another's spears when a man felt he had not been given a rightful share of food, for example, when returning to camp from a hunting trip after others had already eaten.

Ngujakura's sharing ethos meant giving readily, freely and without hesitation to a relation when asked. There were a range of terms which expressed different forms of greed, selfishness, individual covetousness with respect to food: all anti-social behaviours. Some examples are: malabajaku - a person who does not share food and who eats all of some catch or kill; jumban - 'greedy'; kulun - 'selfish'; durrbal - a person who quickly and secretly eats something or hides so that no one can ask for a share. Another important concept with respect to sharing was that of warmbil. The word is a verb which strictly meant to deny knowledge of something - especially relating to some misdeed. However, in the form warmbiji, it referred to the denial of possession and specifically to the denial of a request for something just before a hunting or fishing trip. An elderly Kuku-Yalanji woman, Mabel Webb, describes it thus:

> Before you go out for walkabout, someone might ask you for a spear or for food or anything. Well, you gotta give it to them quick! You might be say: 'No! I've got nothing!' [when you really do]. Well that thing will wait for you. That

> something. You might go out on to the reef . . . a stonefish might be waiting there for you. He'll catch you. Or a snake might get you if you go out into the bush. If anybody asks you for something, you give it to them. Don't be warmbiji! Oh, it can be bad, that one!

Thus environmental forces operating through Ngujakura punished the transgressor of the Law. Denial of a request to share, lying about one's resources, lack of giving and other essentially anti-social behaviours were all postulated as reasons for various calamities taking place. The latter were never accidents and they arose from past events in the social world. And of course, the person aggrieved by another's anti-social behaviour would probably have played a role in making public the actions, which were then interpreted as causing or leading to the 'retribution'.

The principles of Ngujakura described above helped ensure a distribution of resources and relative material equality between families.

IV.2.2 General channelling of resources under Ngujakura.

In addition to ensuring distribution of resources generally, Ngujakura also channelled resources in specific directions. One aspect of this was the proscription on food transference between certain categories of kin. This particularly applied to a man's Z+ and to his Z+D both actual and classificatory. A man could not give to nor accept from these women:

(i) any shellfish species;
(ii) any yam species;
(iii) fresh water eel and tortoises;
(iv) dugong;
(v) any species of sugarbag;
(vi) any large goanna or lizard and other meat species such as possum, bandicoot, cassowary, or snake;
(vii) green ant larvae and eggs;
(viii) scrub hen eggs.

The only meat food not prohibited was fish; some other major subsistence items such as cycads were also free from restriction. Kuku-Yalanji today stress that the foods which are restricted in this relationship are those which 'were Bama before' (i.e. are in the 'Dreaming' stories). There is also a sexual/symbolic aspect. Plants, especially yams or fruit that could in any way be seen as resembling male or female genitalia in colour and shape, were restricted in exchange and their names were never mentioned by a man in the presence of his Z+ or Z+D and vice versa. Even if a word was similar in sound to a word for genitals (e.g. marbu, 'oyster', and mabu, 'vagina') it would not be used in contexts where these relations were together (cf. Haviland 1979a; 1979b). These food restrictions were strictly observed. Different lots of shellfish, for example, were carefully kept apart if gathered by different women to prevent a man inadvertently eating his sister's produce. These food taboos were part of a general set of restrictions between kin of these categories. The relationships themselves were marked by respect, circumspection and semi-avoidance. The nature of this relationship was clearly related to the marriage system, as it was his 'Z+D' for whom a man was obligated to provide a spouse. Whatever the origins of the various restrictions of this sort, their effect was to channel food resources outside of the immediate family group. There were also restrictions on passing food from child to parent which had the same effect. I will return to this later.

Similar restrictions on food exchange applied between a person and certain affines. The food items listed above as prohibited ones between a man and his 'Z' and 'Z+D' were also restricted between a woman and her Z-H or HZ+, and between a man and his WB+ and WZ+ (both actual and potential or classificatory). There was a special taboo for coastal Kuku-Yalanji on a man spearing or eating stingray in sight of his WB or even with his knowledge. If a WB was coming and a man was eating stingray, he had to throw the meat away quickly. Even items that could be exchanged, for example, fish, had to be channelled through the linking spouse. The affinal relationships were in addition marked by extreme avoidance and a special in-law language termed jalbuy (cf. Dixon 1971; Haviland 1979a; 1979b).

Food restrictions also applied between siblings of the same sex (actual and close classificatory). A woman could not give shellfish or other items she had gathered to her younger sisters. Similarly, a man

could not give goanna, echidna, eel or any large meat item to his younger brother. (Very young brothers or sisters were exempted from this rule.) However, the restriction was asymmetrical as younger siblings were in fact obligated to give any of the food they had produced to their older same sex siblings. There were also restrictions relating to food items which were totemic species. These were of three major types: moiety totems, clan totems and personal totems. I discussed the first two of these in Chapter III. The personal totems were termed mulkalmulkal, and they were conception spirits which took the form of animals seen behaving strangely at the time the mother discovered she was pregnant. People were not supposed to kill or eat their mandimandi (moiety totems), their bijarr (clan totems) or their mulkalmulkal. Kuku-Yalanji today describe these totems as being their binga-jawun (lit: 'white' - 'friend'/'countryman') or 'bosses', and strenuously reject the notion of killing them.[1] One woman, Mabel Webb, noted:

> We not supposed to touch that one. Boss. Kari kuni! [Don't spear/kill!'] Anywhere. Just leave him, poor fella. We find him from this bubu [a particular estate]. We can't touch him. Ngananga maja! [That's our boss!] (see also Sharp 1939:271, 274).[2]

Apart from the taboo on the actual totemic species themselves, there also seem to have been restrictions on other species by reference to the totems through colour association. Dabu moiety (yellow native bee) people could not eat the several light coloured species of goanna which were considered 'yellow', while walarr moiety (black native bee) people could not eat the 'black' goannas. The latter were not actually

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1. The restriction on the eating of moiety totems seems to have been less strictly enforced, and it appears that a person could kill and eat them if he or she did so quietly in the bush. They're like a story for them.

2. Roth (1908b:77) notes with respect to Bloomfield: "The social organization of the tribe also bears important relations to the restrictions placed upon food in that an individual dare not eat the various animals belonging to his or her own exogamous group."

considered totemic species, but were said to be 'mates' for the moiety totems. One man, Charlie Collins, noted that these animals were "story, protected by the rules. You get a bad dream if you eat'em."[3]

Other restrictions applied, not on kin or totemic bases, but rather in the case of special liminal states of being which a person enters, e.g. pregnancy, widowhood, or before or during initiation. (I return to the latter in a moment.)

Pregnant women were not allowed to eat echidna, bandicoot, possum, cassowary, wallaby, long-necked freshwater turtle or blue saltwater catfish. If they ate the latter two species, it would result in the child having deformities which mirrored the peculiarities of the animal species involved - long neck like the turtle, whiskers like the catfish, and so on. In the former cases, the meat was said to be 'too strong'. Roth (1903a:25-6) reports for Bloomfield: "Congenital deformity . . . is ascribed to the mother having eaten certain forbidden things, for example wallaby, during pregnancy: one particular hump-backed boy explained his deformity to me as due to his mother having eaten porcupine while carrying him." The availability of an entire species was thought to be affected by the breaking of these food taboos. For instance, if a particular fish was eaten by a pregnant woman it was believed that supplies of that species may disappear or diminish (see Roth 1908b:76-77). The taboos do not appear to have been applied to the pregnant woman's husband.

For the recently widowed man or woman, all the meat taboos mentioned on page 118 apply. They could only eat vegetables and fruit foods and fish. Hodgkinson (1886:7) notes that at Bloomfield: "Severe prohibitions exist . . . with respect to food, the relatives for some time after death being prohibited from any wild animal with hair, tree grubs, eelfish . . ." This taboo state lasted for up to a year, until the close relatives of the deceased declared the person released from their mourning.

Another set of beliefs acted not so much to restrict the flow of food and goods between categories of kin, but rather to block access altogether to certain resources in certain contexts. One perhaps rather

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3. 'Story' is used here as a reference to the Ngadibajaku, or 'Creation' era. It thus means 'dreaming' or 'totem', hence 'story place', 'story bird', etc.

limited example of this was the taboo on killing animals of any kind when the latter's appearance or actions were in any way out of the ordinary (e.g. a wallaby coming freely into camp, a turtle with certain spots on its back). In such a case, it was interpreted as being not really the animal it appeared to be, but rather a wulngkul - the spirit of a person who is sick and close to death, warning his or her relations. To kill the animal would cause the person involved to die immediately. Speculation was always made about the identity of the person who had appeared in this form.

IV.2.3 Food resource access and the bingabinga.

Apart from the distribution of food resources along specific lines according to kin relations, totemic associations or because of temporary states (e.g. widowhood, pregnancy), food was channelled along age and sex lines in culturally prescribed fashion. Specifically, a good deal of food, and particularly choice items, was reserved for the bingabinga, adult and older men. This distribution took several forms:
(i) Food items gained by young men before and during their initiation periods went exclusively to old men, as these items were taboo to the young men themselves (and to anyone else);
(ii) Food from certain areas of land was available only to old men who had certain defined relationships with those areas;
(iii) Certain items were prohibited (either temporarily or permanently) to women;
(iv) Certain items were prohibited in general to young people of either sex, and went instead to old men.

The category of foods which were prohibited to certain persons at certain times was known in Kuku-Yalanji as jalbayn. The food taboo which was most wide-ranging with respect to number of food items was that associated with the jabul period of boys and young men, i.e., before, during and immediately after the initiation ceremony. Upon obtaining certain food resources, young men (until their whiskers had grown) were prohibited from giving them to anyone but old men. These

food items included: bandicoot, echidna, possum, and large wallabies.[4] If a boy killed any of these, he was required to give it to bingabinga - and more especially, to his actual mother's father or to other men in this category. The young boys were said to be kimaku ('weak') and therefore to give meat to father, mother, brother, sister or cross-cousins would put them in danger. They had to give the meat to the old men (see Roth 1908b:77). John Walker describes this rule:

> Say you want to get some meat from a young man, maybe porcupine or bandicoot. You can't do it. Only old fellas can eat it. If young fellas kill animals like that, they have to give it to the old men, their grandfathers, mother's fathers. They'll cook it and eat it themselves. That's minya jabul! ['taboo meat']. When a young fella gets a bit older and gets whiskers, old men might give them some then. When they're older and the young men kill those animals, they give it to their mother's father to cook, and the old men might share it with everybody then.

Le Souef (1894:15) provides a similar example, where an Aboriginal family at Bloomfield would not eat a carpet snake - normally highly desired meat - as it had been killed by a young uninitiated boy.

Roth describes the food taboos just after the initiation period at Bloomfield:

> Some time subsequently [i.e., after initiation], depending upon the season, etc., the young fellow commences to eat certain of the foods that have previously been forbidden to him, the first that he is allowed to partake of being the wo-kai yam [Dioscorea sativa], the last many months later,

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4. This was justified on the grounds that these animals "were here before. They been here first in this country. They been Bama before." In other words, these were proto-humans prominent in Ngujakura activities and stories. The category also corresponds to what is called in other areas of CYP, 'big minya' ('meat') (see Chase 1980:258; Sutton 1978:151; von Sturmer 1978:242).

> being the scrub hen's eggs. None of these foodstuffs, however, is he allowed to speak of by their right names . . he must generalise them all as bandilmaja. Furthermore, during all this period that he is being allowed to gradually partake of more and more of the various foods which had hitherto been forbidden to him, all women and any uninitiated males are strictly to avoid . . . anything that he has eaten from or drunk of (1909a:177).

Apart from particular food items, access to the resource base itself was also affected by Ngujakura. A significant set of prohibitions concerned the use of specific land areas, including areas near burial sites, land made temporarily taboo through use of a ceremonial object and yirmbal or 'story places'.

In the case of burial site restrictions, Roth notes that on the Bloomfield:

> The place of burial [is] immaterial so long as it is away from the camping ground and remote from any particularly plentiful patch of food, because any such place of burial, and anything growing on it is 'tabu' to the women, not however to the men (1907:385; see also Roth 1908b:77).

With respect to areas being temporarily taboo, Roth (1908b:75) states that "on the Bloomfield . . . a form of 'roarer' hung up on a string will make everythingnear or underneath it tabu." Initiation grounds and the surrounding areas for some several hundred metres were rendered taboo during the several weeks of the ceremony. At other times the ground itself was made taboo by the placing there of a solid log called a murla (see Roth 1909a:175). In general, Roth (1908b:78) noted: "The particular piece of ground reserved for the holding of the initiation ceremonies is always strictly tabu from all those who are not specifically privileged to visit it." Non-authorised persons breaking this rule and visiting the ground, or hearing or seeing any part of the ceremonies, there were said to become afflicted by a special sickness termed didadidaji - a curable illness typified by sore eyes and headaches.

The most common restriction of access to particular areas of land was associated with sites known as yirmbal, 'sacred sites' or 'story places', where the nature-spirits, yirru, were believed to dwell. Some sites were the dwelling place of particular species of animal which were alive during Ngadibajaku - the 'Creation' era. The name of the site often contained the species name along with a special suffix (-muku) implying the site was the 'sitting down' place for that being. Other sites were ones which contained physical traces (e.g. rock 'footprints') from the activities of the Creation era creatures. Each estate had up to six of these sites and the oldest males of a patriclan belonging to an estate were said to be 'bosses' for the sites. These men were responsible for the protection and care of the sites, for instance, ensuring that no illicit entry or exploitation of resources occurred. However, they could use the resources themselves (cf. von Sturmer 1978:292-4), and it was they who defined what constituted 'illicit' entry. These men were also able to tap exclusively into the power of the site for healing and for sorcery purposes.

Robert Hislop, writing to the Queensland Commissioner of Police in 1897 about the selection of Aboriginal reserve lands at Bloomfield, stated:

> It would be necessary to avoid localities which are supposed by the aborigines to be inhabited by malignant spirits called 'yeeroo', there are several large areas in this district supposed to be under the influence of 'yeeroo' and on no account will [the Aborigines] eat any food, game or fish got within the boundaries of these areas . . . (R. Hislop 1897:1).

Roth, too, commented on these sites and raised the issue of control of them by old men (something to which I will return later in the chapter):

> There is . . . a nature-spirit [at Bloomfield], 'yirru', living in the ground. The older men to whom the country originally belonged will give out that certain tracts of it are 'yirru' with the result that if any females or males (other than themselves) eat or camp there, or disturb the

> soil in any way whatever, this spirit will punish them with grievous sores, etc. Indeed, near Baird's selection (Connemara) [China Camp] in one of the waterfalls is said to be a large rock which travels up and down the foaming cataract: this particular stone is believed to be yirru in a visible form who can inflict diseases of all kinds (Roth 1903:29; see also McConnel 1931 for a discussion of this site).

The Hershbergers recorded in 1963 the comments of Corporal Medium, an old Kuku-Yalanji man about Marbaymba, a yirmbal site near Rattlesnake Point. Below is a free translation of the original text:

> People don't go in there. You must not go into the scrub, the mangroves. Don't go inside the mangrove. Outside [is] allright, to the west. If you go inside you won't come back. You'll die inside. There you'll find dogs and people, people from the Ngujakura, wild people. You'll find a big carpet snake. You'll see the rainbow serpent come up. The rainbow serpent! If that gets you, it'll keep you there. It won't kill you, but will keep you. People will be looking for you but won't find you. You'll be finished. If you stay there, you won't come back. Through the scrub, through the mangrove, the jungle. Everywhere, to the south, to the west. You'll see red water, water like tea. The ground is bad, yirmbal. You go outside, anywhere outside is okay. Outside on the beach is okay. But don't go inside. Don't enter the mangroves. It'll grab you. The rainbow serpent will grab you and keep you there (Hershberger & Hershberger MS n.d.).

Access to resources at these sites was prohibited to all but adult men - and only certain of these in some contexts. By using these taboos, the old men who were 'bosses' of the estates on which these sites were situated were able to reserve these resources for themselves. These sites were seen as concentrations of power from the Ngujakura, and it was considered that only older men were sufficiently knowledgeable, mature, and strong enough to tap into this power. For others to gain resources from such sites was seen as dangerous and leading to illness,

misfortune or death.

Some items of food were forbidden totally to young people. Cassowary, for instance, was considered 'too strong' or 'too sweet' and was reserved for old men. One could offer the comment that these remarks referred not only to the taste, but also to the 'power' of these food stuffs because of their habitual association with the older men. Of course, it was convenient for the latter that the items were also highly desired ones. Stingray, likewise, was prohibited to young people who, if they did eat it, caused thunder and electrical storms. Roth (1908b:76) notes too for SECYP in general: "Certain dietaries are strictly forbidden to all young people before arriving at puberty, the full attainment of which is generally dependent . . . upon initiation for males and birth of first child for females." Hodgkinson 1886:12-13) states: "Gins [Aboriginal women] and children must not eat snakes . . . boys till a certain age are forbidden yams, some things can only be eaten by very old men and a long list could be made of partial or entire restriction of particular food from certain ages and sex."

Taboos could be temporary and could be declared by different sorts of person. Roth gives examples from SECYP:

> Some forms of the tabu are constant in that it can never be removed, in others it may be released by the elders, occasionally by one individual openly (not necessarily an elder), but never by women . . . (1908b:75).
>
> Although tabu is . . . generally declared by men, it can here and there be instituted by women, but then only in the male interests. The women, for instance, will be quarrelling, perhaps over some alleged inequality in sharing the food when one of them will suddenly declare it all tabu in favour of her husband or any male belonging to the same exogamous groups as herself (Bloomfield River) . . . when it cannot, of course, be eaten or touched by anyone else (p. 76).
>
> The tabu on certain dietaries is often relaxed by some of the very old men in favour of the young males when food happens to be scarce on the Bloomfield (p. 75).
>
> [On the coastline of SECYP] whatever is cooked by men, all women have to regard as tabu. Old men may, indeed,

> institute the ban over any food which, owing to scarcity, they may wish to reserve for themselves (p. 77).

In addition, older males would always determine the distribution of meat from large game animals. Idriess (1980 [1959]:248, 257-8) provides a description of such a distribution. He also shows well the power of older men - whom he calls 'greybeards' - in quickly and decisively appropriating a food resource which women and young people were 'hoeing into'. (Although this led, according to old women today, to women often eating things while they were out in the bush without telling the men about it; see also Idriess [1980 [1959]:227-228]). Certain powerful old men were not only able to appropriate products, they also played a large role in directing economic activity in general: where people went and what they did.

In summary, food resources, often staples and highly desired items, were generally channelled in favour of males over females, and in favour of older males over all others. This was partly due to the everyday, more mundane powers of members of this group (e.g. willingness and legal right to enforce laws), but it was also due to their perceived connections with Ngujakura.

IV.3 Marriage and the status of women.

I briefly discussed the Kuku-Yalanji kinship and marriage system in Chapter III. Here I wish to discuss some other features of marriage and the status of women generally in Kuku-Yalanji society.

Marriage normally came about as a result of an agreement made between the man and the parents of a prepubescent or unborn girl. A wife could also be inherited by a man from his older brother, if the latter died (see Roth 1908a:8; Oates & Oates 1964:10). But this form of obtaining a wife was not always trouble-free. Roth notes:

> On the Bloomfield River the widow's own group or blood-brother has the greatest say as to which one of her late spouse's brothers she has to be given to. There are often great disputes over arranging this matter. The finally chosen one stands up to have the spear thrown over him by the other brothers who would have next claim, for until this

> is done he is aware that his assumed right is not generally admitted; occasionally, if any dispute or unpleasantness occurs, he may have to fight for her, though finally she is handed over to him by the wrist, and everything is settled (Roth 1908a:8-9).[5]

The betrothal or 'promise' system of marriage and the marriage ceremony itself aptly demonstrates the dominance of older males and give an indication of male/female relations in Kuku-Yalanji society. Hodgkinson (1886:4) states: "Wives are obtained . . . by promise, baby girls being devolved to favoured members of the tribe irrespective of age" (meaning that the latter were usually older men). Rowan (1912) also notes that marriage partners were decided for women by others when the girls are very young. Roth fully describes the process:

> On the Bloomfield River children are betrothed at birth. If already married, the husband will take charge of his betrothed wife when about 4 or 5 years old; this is especially the case if he moves about a great deal or lives some distance away from her tribe. If not already married, he has to wait until such time as she reaches puberty, though if close upon that age and he is about to leave for some other district, he will take her by the wrist in the presence of all the other natives - the ceremonial sign of marriage - tell her she is his, and warn her parents to look after her well and to report to him at once should anyone attempt to interfere with her. If ultimately the girl is too shy to go to her future husband's hut, her brother or father will accompany her; if still recalcitrant, her husband will seize her wrist and pull her in (Roth 1908a:15).

A Kuku-Yalanji man, John Walker, described the promise system and the marriage ceremony to me in similar terms in 1977:

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5. This quote also demonstrates that sibling rivalry and dispute did occur, producing problems for, among other things, a clan-based residence group.

> We used to have a promise for marriage in the old days. When girls grew up, they had to marry their promised one. They couldn't have boyfriends. Even if their promised one went away, they had to wait until he returned. Fathers sometimes promised their daughters to other men when the girls were still babies. Then when she grew up she had to marry that man. He might have gray hair and she mightn't like him, but she had to go to him. She was promised to him! When the time came to marry, the girl's mother told the man that he should come and grab the girl and take her. The girls often protested that they didn't want an old man, but they had to go. The man took the girl and held her by the wrist and kept her in his camp. If she still protested, he might refuse food to her or threaten that he wouldn't let her see her mother until she agreed to stay with him. Finally, she agreed and everyone was satisfied. That was our law, from early days. Promised one.

When a marriageable couple were of similar ages (or at least were not in a promised relationship to each other), males in the grandparent generation of the pair had final say over the marriage. Parents could also arrange marriages between their children.[6] If a woman ultimately refused to marry her promised one or if she ran off, the unrequited suitor could kill the woman without fear of reprisal or else his father could kill the girl's father. In addition, according to several Kuku-Yalanji people, when a woman married a man to whom she was promised, she had to stay with him until he died. Only then could she marry another man (which would probably in any case be her former husband's actual or classificatory brother). Roth notes, though:

> Amongst the Bloomfield River natives . . . divorce is allowed to either party, although the weaker vessel does not usually resort to such a measure unless well backed by

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6. Idriess (1980 [1959]:203-4) mentions this and gives a detailed description of aspects of the Kuku-Yalanji marriage procedures as he observed them in the China Camp and Thompson Creek area just after the turn of the century.

> powerful relatives. If the husband wishes to free himself, he generally arranges the matter quietly with one of his group - or blood-brothers, gets him to take her, and holding her by the wrist, hands her over (Roth 1908a:11-12).

Polygyny was practiced in the Bloomfield region, but the evidence suggests that usually few and only then prominent men had more than one wife (see below). Having several wives was a marker of prestige; it also meant that these men controlled a greater amount of labour and food production than other men, had more children and thus more ties to exploit when necessary. In short, multiple wives aided some men in the expansion of their power bases. On the other hand, the converse may also sometimes have been the case. Some men may already have been powerful enough to gain more wives. Power and prestige obviously attracted potential marriage partners.

The promise system limited the number of available women by reserving potential spouses for the older men. This along with the inability to marry prior to initiation, kept young men from marriage for some years. There was also a general view that it was better for men to marry when they were older rather than younger.

Hodgkinson (1886:5) notes that at Bloomfield, "Polygamy exists, one gentleman at the mission station possessing no less than three brace and a half of better halves." Meyer (1887a) also noted: "They are polygamous here . . . the headman for instance has six wives" (see also Rowan 1912:126). In my genealogies of the oldest people living in the late 1970s at the Bloomfield Mission, only five men in their grandparents' generation had more than one wife: three had three wives, and two had two wives. In all cases, these men are ones with legendary status: they were 'bosses' and there were many stories told about them. They were focal persons of large semi-permanent camps, and they wielded considerable power over a wide area. One man, Kalkamanangu, influenced events as far away as Daintree, some 50km to the south and a region not regularly frequented by Kuku-Yalanji (see Chapter VIII).

Idriess' The Tin Scratchers has a passage which describes well the roles of wives in a polygynous situation, as well as something of the status of women generally in SECYP:

> I would become reconciled to the fact that the older and uglier the lubras the more they carried, and they never grumbled. This was, to them quite 'just'. A native who possessed more than one wife, I soon learnt, considered himself a happy man - especially when he was away from them: he could travel fast and carry more luxuries, his wives doing the carrying; but they must catch him up at sunset, of course. His youngest lubra was lucky, too, until another displaced her. Then she must carry the heavy burdens while the young favourite had the honour of carrying only her yam stick, a light dillybag, her master's fire-making stick, and those spare spears which he had discarded for the day (Idriess 1980 [1959]:243).

Kuku-Yalanji women during my fieldwork, although agreeing that favouritism occurred and that it sometimes caused problems, stressed the advantages of the system for women in having others to share domestic labour with and also in being able to join forces against the husband, if necessary. Often also the women in polygynous situations were actual or classificatory sisters.

In general, Kuku-Yalanji women were wholly excluded from the realm of knowledge dealing with Ngujakura. They were unable to manipulate the Law and were considered to have little power. One man's comment is typical: "Some fella reckon jalbuljalbul [women] got not much bujar [power]. Only men." Many topics, words, stories and so on would never even be mentioned around women. The instrumental value of women is denied, although clearly recognised in practice by the attempts to gain and maintain control over the reproductive capacity of women. Nevertheless, Kuku-Yalanji women's status in the domestic arena was very much a subordinate one. There are numerous historical references to this in SECYP. Rowan writes:

> A little black girl, who had run away from her husband at Mr. H's [Hislop's Wyalla Plains property] a few days ago, was there [at the Bloomfield Mission], and returned with us . . . but her husband caught her and took her back again; she did not look more than thirteen, while he was a wretched, blear-eyed old creature of about fifty. They constantly

> run away from their husbands . . . (1912:115; see also p. 126).

Hodgkinson (1886:9) states: "Bad tempered men exist in the [Bloomfield] tribes as elsewhere and illtreat their wives, to the extent of murder or maiming . . ." and (p. 5): "The waddy is the marital pacificator." Hodgkinson also notes that at Bloomfield "the word hospitality takes a wide signification" in that men regularly lent their wives to visiting males.

With domestic disputes between a man and his wife, a man could freely beat his wife without interference, as long as the marriage was a correct one. As one Kuku-Yalanji woman, Ruby Friday, commented in 1979: "When those two [a couple] straight, you might be give 'a hiding [to] that woman, well biwul [WM] don't growl you. He growl that kangkal [daughter]." However, a man could be 'too rough' with his wife and if, as a result of this, she became seriously injured or died, he would have to face the wrath of his dead wife's relatives. On the other hand, a woman must answer for the death of her husband no matter how he died. Roth demonstrates this well for Cape Bedford (just north of Cooktown). Here a widow:

> is hammered on the head the day after her husband's decease, with a woomera, by all the old men round about, who excuse their conduct by saying that from the very first she was jealous of some other girl and forbade her late husband to have her, and further that she used to eat his food, which otherwise they might have had and enjoyed (Roth 1908a:8).

Elsewhere Roth notes:

> An old woman, as a rule, receives but scant consideration, though she may be looked after by her sons when neglected by her husband, as is often the case when the latter has a plurality of wives, and all his attentions are bestowed upon the youngest or most recently acquired (Roth 1906:7).

While the above examples reveal the overall subordinate status of Kuku-Yalanji women, the latter do seem to have been able to take part in some

decision-making. Roth (1906:4) notes that "the older women often have an important say in many matters, and occasionally the younger females (e.g. on the Bloomfield) take part in the deliberations." Hodgkinson, too, - after discussing the violent treatment of wives by husbands at Bloomfield and noting that they are 'general slaves', states that "they are on the whole fairly treated and decidedly loquacious in the discussion of all questions of general interest" (1886:9). He also notes (p. 13) the diplomatic roles sometimes played by older women in helping settle group disputes. Yet, as McConnel (1931) shows, an important point in the most significant myth for the Bloomfield area - the kija or 'moon' story - is that only men existed 'before'. In the story, too, when a young boy gets transformed by the moon 'hero' into a woman, the whole camp (of men) is angry because they claim that the former is now 'spoiled' (McConnel 1931:12). They are glad, though, in the end, because they finally have someone to build camp and to make mara (cycad flour) for them.

IV.4 Nganja: Transition to power.

For young males, the transition from a state of having virtually no power, status or significant knowledge to a position where at least there was potential for obtaining them was marked in a number of symbolic ways. The most prominent of these was the initiation ceremony. In this section I discuss this ceremony in some detail, firstly because it reflects in many ways the major status differentials in Kuku-Yalanji society, and secondly, because I have good descriptions of these ceremonies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the next section I will say something about other Kuku-Yalanji ceremonies and ritual activities.

The initiation ceremony was termed nganja. Only males were initiated and it normally preceded their marriage (see Hodgkinson 1886:5). Cicatrices and other body scars, nose-holes and changing physical features associated with puberty and increased strength, for example, beard growth, all labelled a man's new identity. Yet, it was not until after nganja, when he had the formal status of a ngumbal, a fully initiated male, that he was able to take part in the (male) adult world.

Roth (1909a) gives full descriptions of several ceremonies in SECYP - at McIvor River, Princess Charlotte Bay, Helenvale and Bloomfield River. I quote below in full his Bloomfield description:

> On the Bloomfield River, when a sufficient number of friendlies can be got together in one locality, and this will depend upon a suitable season and adequate food-supply, all the boys who are to undergo the rite are taken to a spot well-removed from the women and the actual camp, to where a 'lean-to' of branches is set up. About ten or fifteen yards distant from this shed is the initiation ring, an oval space about twelve yards by six, formed in some sandy spot, the sand scooped out, and thrown up to form a raised edge just wide enough for one individual to walk along on. At the lean-to each boy is covered from head to foot with Grevillea bark charcoal by his father or mother's brother, the ashes being applied with the hands, which are spat upon. The proceedings will commence at any time during the day or evening. The boys are now taken to the cleared space within sight or sound of which no woman or other uninitiated males dare to be present. Here the elders go through a whole series of dances or performances relative to various birds and animals, and as each is executed the father or mother's brother explains to his ward the meaning and details of it; at the commencement of each separate dance, except that of the wild-cat, during the whole course of which their faces are turned aside in the direction of 'home', they are directed to look homewards while things are being got ready. These dances are done in relays and extend over a space of sometimes four days, without sleep and but little food, and that only of a certain kind, with the result that the poor novices are pretty well half-starved and knocked up for want of sleep. The novices are also painted differently at the close of the ceremony, with red ochre, to what they were at the opening. As soon as the elders have decided that they have had enough of it, the men in charge of the boys will collect some leafy boughs under cover of which, just like a moving forest, they all march back towards the original

> camp. Before reaching it, however, they stop at another cleared more or less circular space with its accompanying lean-to shed, and stand up in two rows, the novices forming the front one. The mothers (blood- or group-) of the initiated youths are now allowed to approach, each woman coming close up with a leafy bough which she switches lightly across the thighs of her own particular boy, who thereupon enters the lean-to, where he has a short rest. Having so rested for a while, the snake dance is performed in this smaller cleared space, this being followed by the wrestling matches. At last they all return to the original encampment, where the novices now occupy the bachelors' quarters (Roth 1909a:176-7).

Hodgkinson (1886) has a discussion of what he terms 'man-making' stages at Bloomfield. The first stage corresponds to the ceremony described by Roth above, and there are two others - tooth avulsion and nasal-septum piercing - which he argues are also part of this process. I would argue that these latter activities are not directly linked to initiation and will leave these aspects of Hodgkinson's comments until later. With respect to the initiation ceremony, Hodgkinson states:

> The admission of a youth to the privileges of manhood . . . [is] termed 'umball' [ngumbal: 'initiated man'] [and] takes place at the age of 10 or 12. At this age the boys for initiation into the first stage are removed to a camp pitched in a secluded spot and provided with a long trough in which the youths sit for some hours daily during the rites which occupy 14 days. At stated intervals the men dance around the noviciates and represent the several occupations of Aboriginal life, such as spearing fish, hunting, finding turkey's eggs, cutting out bees nests and certain obscene particulars of private import. No females are allowed in the vicinity (Hodgkinson 1886:7-8).

Although providing some detail, the above descriptions lack certain critical elements. Firstly, social data is sparse. There is no information on numbers of initiates and old men, who supplies food, or

how and by whom the ceremony is organised. Secondly, there are no data on how often or where the ceremonies occur or their variations. This reflects, I think, the comparative ethnological concerns of the time which opposed detailed analyses of particular cases. Roth's description seems more generalised than Hodgkinson's. This probably stems from Roth's reliance on Robert Hislop, who either witnessed himself or had good knowledge of several actual initiations.

Below is a description of the nganja ceremony which includes some of the aspects lacking in the historical accounts. It was given to me in 1979 by John Walker:

> The men who are already initiated organise the nganja. It is taboo to everyone else. They especially wouldn't let any women near. The men dug a big wide hole in the ground, then made a big fire all the way around it. The young boys had to sit in the hole with the big fire all around and they couldn't get out. Stay there for a long time. The boy's mothers brought food, but they had to sing out from a long way away. The old men would then get the food and bring it to the boys. Inside the hole those old men made the boys' wawu dandi ['spirit firm']; they couldn't laugh or talk no matter what those old men did. Day and night the boys had to stay there. The fire made them very hot and sweaty and they got tired, but they couldn't get out. Two old men like watchmen there. If the boys came out those men would have speared them. They would have run away without those fellas there. Other old men cut and gathered firewood to keep the big fire going. After awhile, black charcoal from the fire was smashed up and rubbed onto the boys. Make them like a new colour. They were allowed to come out of the hole then, but no one could come near. Only the old men. The bull-roarer was swung around in the air and it could be heard a long way away, warning everyone to stay away. These young men were proper jabul ['taboo'] then. Later, the boys came out again and the old men put red ochre on them this time. Make them pretty and so that they looked different. Then back into the hole again. Next day maybe, the boys were led out of the hole with a long leafy branch attached to their

> legs. They then were given a wash in the creek by the old men. Then sometimes taken hunting, but still no one could come near. Very jabul! They looked very different now. Nice! Sit down now in the old men's camp for one night. Then the boys were taken out at night time to see their mothers at their camps. They had to sing out like dingoes from a distance to let people know they were coming. The old men introduced the boys and said that no one could give them food and that they would look after them. The old men also said that no one in the family, like father, mother, older sister, younger brother, father's sister could receive food from the boys until they got whiskers. Only old men such as the boys' mother's fathers and father's fathers could eat food from them.

Kuku-Yalanji boys underwent the nganja ceremony from the age of 12 or 13 right up to 25 years or so. For all SECYP Roth noted the great age differences of initiates. He also states (1909a:177) that for Bloomfield, "men need not necessarily have gone through [initiation] even before marriage or even before children have been born to them." Kuku-Yalanji during my fieldwork denied this, stating that the ceremony always occurred prior to marriage. In fact, they stated that the man who was most prominent in a boy's nganja ceremony - his 'trainer' as one man termed him ("That trainer [was] boss for that boy's nganja.") - had a right to organize the marriage of the boy, or at least to approve of his choice of partner. It may have been that post-1880 the ceremonies were delayed, leaving some men 'undone' for some years. The occurrence of the ceremony after about 1885 appears to have been infrequent with periods between initiations of up to five years. The number of initiates fluctuated and there could be large groups of boys, with timing of the ceremony sometimes matched to numbers. The ceremony on the McIvor River (north of the Annan valley) which Roth observed in the dry season of 1899 (see Roth 1909a and Poland 1906) had over 150 persons taking part with 60 of these being initiates. In 1895, Meston and Missionary Schwarz, when travelling near Helenvale on the Annan River, observed "about 250 blacks assembled on the Annan the tribes for fifty miles around initiating a number of youths in the mysteries of the bora ceremony" (Meston 1896:1202). The high numbers, though, may have had

something to do with rumours about Meston killing a bullock and distributing the meat (which he did).

Initiations in all parts of SECYP generally occurred in June or July - the early part of the dry when many fruits and vegetables were ready, and when fish, turtles and wallabies were plentiful. Still, especially for the large gatherings, maintaining the food-supply was a critical task and as Roth notes (1909a:169): "A few days spell was necessitated every now and again [in the ceremony] to allow of the participants hunting further afield." Relative political stability between adjacent groups was also a necessity, as the outbreak of fighting would seriously disrupt, and perhaps end a ceremony which took a great deal of organization and planning. Roth reports no one central organizer for the initiations but rather "all arrangements being made by the old men collectively" (1909a:170).

The nganja ceremony was important in two ways: a pragmatic one in which a certain amount of actual training in Law occurred, and a symbolic one which demonstrated in form and content that the ceremony marked the transition from one status to another.

Roth (1909a) notes that novices on the Bloomfield River received instruction about their sexual and social relationships. They "are also told all the places and things that are tabu" (p. 170). They learn all the taboo foods and the consequences of eating them (p. 167, 179). "They also learn and have to avoid the animals belonging to their own exogamous blood-group" (p. 179). Initiates watched and learned many dance and song representations of various fauna and other things. Missionary Poland of the Cape Bedford Mission noted 're-enactments of hunts' during a McIvor River ceremony he observed, and records that particular dances were explained to the initiates (Poland 1906). W. & L. Oates, linguists at Bloomfield in 1959, described the concept of ngumbal in terms of training (they use a sport analogy), defining him as a 'fully trained boy' (Oates et al. 1964:119). Kuku-Yalanji in the late 1970s also emphasised the training aspect and the feel of the ceremony as being 'like a school'.

Some formal cultural knowledge was imparted, and this was done explicitly by example or demonstration and by direct imparting of information on food taboos and place restrictions, along with dance and song explanations and certain kin and marriage rules. The ceremonial explanations were seen as important because these were representations of the

unity of the natural and social worlds and an assertion of the ability of men to control the former. Certainly the undergoing of the ceremony and the transfer of information were seen to expose the initiates to a new and dangerous power.[7] To learn of this power, to be exposed to it, to gain the potential to tap into it, and to have it emphasised that the power was only transmitted by men were the practical aims of nganja.

The symbolic aspects of the nganja ceremony are readily apparent. The ceremony represents change, altered states, transition, separation, power and domination. It was appropriate that the move from the world of children and women - from relatively carefree, totally indulged living as a boy - to the potentially important, powerful and dangerous world of adult manhood was marked in a dramatic way. When the ceremony was ready to begin, the novices were taken forcibly, and sometimes they were pulled by the hair from the camps of their parents. They were forced to remain in the ceremonial ground for weeks at a time under guard and under threat of spearing. During some performances of the ceremony the novices were knocked about, buffeted, bruised and elbowed by the old men. The fires were intense at times, and the boys were forced to remain close to them, becoming hot, sweaty and disoriented. They were fed minimal food (no meat and yams), and they were not allowed sleep for up to three days at a time. During certain dances by the old men the boys were forced to sit stoically, without laughter, grimace or flinching. The novices thus faced a violent wrenching from the normal, easy camp life of uninitiated boys, then they experienced violent treatment, incarceration, deprivation and humiliation (see also Sutton 1978:150-1; von Sturmer 1978:382 for WCYP examples). Little wonder then that Roth (1909a:168) noted: "In all cases . . . the novice has two or three virtues inculcated into him, viz. obedience to and respect for his elders, and self-control". The dramatic nature of nganja underlined and reinforced its importance as a transition symbol, and it re-enforced the power and status of the old men.

Other aspects emphasise the new state which the novices attained. These included the use of different body colouring at the beginning and

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7. In the early stages of the ceremony, the initiates had their backs, arms and shoulders rubbed periodically with underarm sweat from the old men and with the taboo foods to protect them from this power.

middle of the ceremony and the bathing of the boys at the end. [8] The obvious symbolic nature of these body colour changes is shown in frequent Kuku-Yalanji comments such as: 'He's a new man now', 'look different', 'all nice now, new skin.' This focus on changes in appearance are partly references to the young men now being attractive to women; it was an assumption that their new power and status had sexual implications. The fact of the new identity was confirmed by the necessity to re-introduce the initiates back into the camps following the formal ceremony. Their new state was also marked by new residence (in the bachelors' quarters) where they camped with (and served) older men, while being 'looked after' by the latter. Overall too, the entire transition period was marked by declaring the initiates jabul - which effectively cut them off from normal social and economic relations, except with or through older males. Conclusion of the ceremony marked the right of the young men to engage in certain economic pursuits, for example, wallaby and small game hunting and to use spears for fish and birds. Hodgkinson (1886:11) notes: "These employments are confined to men and boys who have passed initiatory stages."

The ceremony also symbolised in a powerful way that important affairs in the world were essentially relations between men. Women were clearly not uninvolved with the ceremony. They brought food to the initiates during the ceremony's initial stages, and they led their sons out of the group of initiates once back at camp (see Roth 1909a:177). Yet the ceremony was primarily one consisting of and representing relations between men. These relations and matters of personal identity were linked together in a complex way to suggest an apparent timelessness and an endless self- and social-reproduction. The bingabinga were saying that this reproduction was dependent on them and that they had the power to maintain their position. They were the bosses, and power was the basis of being a boss.

The effects of nganja were several:

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8. Black was often associated with the ordinary or the mundane, while red usually represented beauty or enhancement. A total body coat of clay indicated death generally in Kuku-Yalanji society and was common for persons mourning the loss of a spouse (see Plate XI). Washing here also signified entering a new state (i.e. non-mourning).

(i) Self-control and discipline were instilled into young men, and they obtained initial access to the formal body of knowledge seen as necessary in maintaining the 'natural' order;
(ii) Young men were kept away from women, during and for a time after the ceremony. This may have reduced the problems which older men apparently had in keeping their young wives faithful to them;
(iii) The fear of and respect for older males was intensified. Along with the secrecy and separation from women, this reinforced the older male domination of Kuku-Yalanji society;
(iv) Supply of certain choice foods was reserved for older men. Not only this, the latter used the young initiates to hunt for them to procure these items. Roth goes so far as to state:

> Others [i.e. other McIvor Aborigines] told us, and I am more and more convinced that this is an essential of the raison d'etre for all these initiation ceremonies, that they (the older men) were hungry, and had to prevent the younger men and boys from eating those food-stuffs of which they (the old ones) were in want. The old men do their best to carry out this idea by showing the younger generation the influence they wield . . . by making them believe that any violation of the orders given concerning the eating of certain things will be punished by the infliction of various diseases and deformities (Roth 1909a:167);

(v) The actual substance of the performance and the knowledge gained was wrapped in secrecy.[9] This reinforced a mystical aura of the knowledge and ceremonies appropriate to its aim (control of and reproduction of nature/society). Roth (1909a:167) notes that the secret nature of the ceremony gave "an air of uncanniness and mystery to the proceedings" which convinced young men and females of the old men's influence and authority. The 'club-like' status of the group of initiated males also kept potentially disruptive younger men in line, for the dominated knew that one day they would dominate. It seems that initiation certainly

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9. Ngumbal were also taught use of the 'bull-roarer' after initiation, which enabled them to secure secrecy of action in the bush.

brought about a new confidence, almost a smugness, in young men. Roth comments that: "a marked change comes over the lad about this time [post-initiation], and whereas previously he could be taught and given explanations of certain of the natural phenomena that might be brought under his notice, it is almost futile to attempt doing so subsequently" (p. 168). Idriess (1980 [1959]:257) also commented on such attitudes after seeing a group of recently initiated men near China Camp.

The new status or power of the ngumbal in Kuku-Yalanji society is demonstrated by the comment of one man in 1978 (who happened to be then on the community council of Bloomfield Mission): "Ngumbal, when he finished, he like a big boss, council or government man. Big man. Big shot, like me. I'm council. People call me maja yalbay! ['Big boss']".

In summary, the nganja ceremony was a marker of the passage from power-less to potentially powerful with respect to knowledge as well as control of other people. The ceremony was the symbol of the granting of access to what in Kuku-Yalanji ideology was the most important knowledge necessary for the maintenance of society. Its conduct symbolised and helped ensure continuance of the status quo: domination of young by old, and of women by men. Nganja also represented the transition to a capacity to look after people and to assume responsibility. Several comments by our early observers sum up some important aspects of this ceremony. Roth notes in disgust that 'moral principles' are not only not taught to the young men during initiation in SECYP, but "if anything, the novice is let into a few of the swindles, etc., and the reasons for practicing them to his own advantage and self-preservation . . ." (1909a:168). Robert Hislop (1897) noted that at Bloomfield, "once the boys have been initiated into all the native misteries [sic] and superstitions, it is impossible to civilise them. If it were not for these ceremonies, the old people would have little or no hold over the younger ones." Missionary Poland after witnessing the McIvor initiation in 1899 stated: "This ceremony serves the limitless egoism of old men in the tribes . . ." (Poland 1906).

IV.4.1 Other ceremonies.

Overall, Kuku-Yalanji ritual and ceremony were not elaborate, nor were there a great many ceremonies. This is similar to Aboriginal groups further to the north along the east coast of Cape York Peninsula, and in stark contrast to WCYP (see Chase 1980; von Sturmer 1978). In this section, I will briefly mention several other ceremonies which contain aspects relevant to my argument.

I have already described the rather brief and simple rituals attached to the marriage ceremony. The next section presents some data on death rituals and funeral practices. For women, the birth of a first child was an important event marking a significant status change. As such, it involved several ritual elements which signified the transition. Firstly, birth for a woman meant a change in status from maral ('girl'), to the transition state kurmba ('one who recently had a first birth'), and finally to jalbu ('adult woman'). The birth itself occurred in relative seclusion in the bush away from camp and was attended by the woman's close female relatives, including her M, her Z+, her MM, her FZ and her MZ+. The latter relative, termed mukay, apparently played more of a role in aiding with the birth than anyone else. Following birth, the afterbirth was either buried or placed in the hollow of a tree. Lists of names were called during manipulation of the umbilical cord but I have no details of this. The newborn infant was then covered with dry clean ashes or animal fat and then formally presented to the father - a ritual which also signalled the end of the mother's taboo period as a pregnant woman.

Elsewhere in CYP there were ceremonies that marked a woman's first menstruation (see McConnel 1934; Roth 1903a:24-25), but Roth maintains that he found no evidence of them on the east coast of north Queensland north of Bowen. For Bloomfield he only states that the older women ridiculed the younger ones on the latter's first menstruation (1903a:24). Older Kuku-Yalanji women in the 1970s also knew of no ceremony attached to first menstruation which was practiced in earlier times.

There is no evidence, either from the historical record or from Kuku-Yalanji women's oral history, of any secret women's ceremonies (apart from personal rituals which accompanied various activities, but these were individually-centred and males undertook them as well).

An augury ceremony which involved tooth avulsion of both young men and women was practiced in SECYP. Aspects of this ceremony demonstrate well another context which afforded control and influence to bingabinga. The tooth avulsion ceremony was known in Kuku-Yalanji as nguman dumbarrin. It was not mandatory and was generally performed, for men, after the nganja ceremony, and for women, after puberty. It was an alternative or an addition to the nose-boring ceremony (see below). Both dealt with the issue of 'finding' potential marriage partners for the young people undergoing the operation. There was also an aspect of decoration and a sense of physical enhancement involved in these two ceremonies. People today describe them as being done to give you 'proper style', to make you look 'nice' and to cause the opposite sex to be attracted to you (cf. Chase 1980:352; von Sturmer 1978:388). The tooth avulsion was generally performed by old men in the kin category of 'mother's brother' for men and 'mother's father' for women. Hodgkinson (1886:8-9), Roth (1910b:32) and Idriess (1980 [1959]:202-203) all give descriptions of the tooth avulsion procedure at Bloomfield. However, none of these sources discuss the aspects of this ceremony which contemporary Kuku-Yalanji see as the defining feature of the ceremony: that it was viewed as a way of determining potential marriage partners. The 'dentist', as he is now called, the man who removed the tooth, called out a series of names of eligible partners while striking the tooth. The one whose name was called as the tooth actually came out was then considered to be a possible marriage partner at some stage in the future. This aspect of the ceremony is similar to other ceremonies elsewhere in CYP (see McConnel 1957:140; Roth 1908a:4; von Sturmer 1978:358; Thomson 1936:380).

Several points can be made about the nguman dumbarrin ceremony:
(i) The young people undergoing the ceremony were ones which had not yet entered into any betrothal arrangements - i.e. they had not been 'promised' as spouses to anyone yet;
(ii) The seemingly random calling of potential partners' names by the 'dentist' obviously had great scope for manipulation of marriage patterns by older men in that they could ratify or confirm already existing 'sweetheart' arrangements that created favourable alliances or they could suggest new possibilities;
(iii) The ceremony was a way of pairing off young single males and unbetrothed women. The young men were always potential threats to older

men's control of their own young wives. And single, sexually active young persons of both sexes were often the cause of much conflict and fighting. Allocation of spouses could also be seen as a granting of rewards to cooperative young.

Nose-piercing, as with tooth avulsion, was optional and was also done to women (see Roth 1910b:29). A man in the category, potential or classificatory spouse's father, performed the operation. Hodgkinson (1886:9) and Roth (1909a:77) both describe the operation. Kuku-Yalanji in the 1970s reported that several men of the category 'mother's brother' would be involved, and that arrangements could be made during the ceremony for marriage of the young person - if a female, through a promise of marriage to an already mature marriageable person or, if a male, then of later marriage to a very young daughter.

The major Kuku-Yalanji ceremonies marked changes in status for the focal participants and they also afforded opportunities for the maintenance and reproduction of structural dominance in Kuku-Yalanji society.

IV.5 Status and authority of <u>bingabinga</u>.

Roth succinctly sums up the position of older men in north Queensland Aboriginal societies:

> Old men in general get the best of everything, and are treated with respect: such a one will only have to say he requires so-and-so, water, etc. and any of the young men around will immediately set to and supply his wants. They not only get respect, but they command fear and obedience (Roth 1906:7).

Roth notes, too, that although Kuku-Yalanji have a term for 'laziness', it "is not recognised . . . on the part of the older men" (Roth 1906:7). He also shows (p. 6) the absolute power that a man (and his brothers) had over his children, and as well, that a male's mother's brothers had over him after initiation.

Of the power of old men over the young in general, one Kuku-Yalanji man, John Walker, remarked in 1977:

> Early days young people no more been like this, causin' trouble. Old fella spear'im quick. Make'em know Law. Right Law. Oh, lotta Law before! Aboriginal Law. Early day. Very hard! Bujildandi, bingabinga! [lit.: 'hard-nosed old men'].

Bingabinga were thus in a high status position, and they wielded considerable power over younger men and all women. This stemmed partly from the assumption that in the 'order of things', for men in particular, increasing age led to a deeper and wider range of experience, and thus to power. It was also because of the Kuku-Yalanji belief in the basic connections between the environment and its resources, the nature-spirit world of the deceased and of the ancestors, and of Ngujakura. The spirits of dead individuals, and of the ancestors in general, were seen as being lodged in or at one with certain places in the environment and as travelling over certain domains. They were also able to act upon the human world by bringing about environmental 'revenge' when rules were broken. Their power could be tapped too for both good (healing, securing resource yields, etc.) and for bad purposes (sorcery) by the knowledgeable.

IV.5.1 Bingabinga and Ngujakura.

Bingabinga, as a group, had the exclusive power to communicate with (or at least to 'correctly' interpret the messages from) the nature-spirit world.[10] Rowan (1912:115) and Le Souef (1897:27) both describe instances at Bloomfield of men they call chiefs communicating with spirits of the ancestors on behalf of the camp as a whole. In the latter reference old men also acted to 'debrief' a woman who was believed to have been taken away by spirits for several hours one night. They warmed their hands on the fire, rubbed them with their own underarm sweat, and then massaged the woman's head, questioning her and inter-

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10. This term was used interchangeably for living old men and dead ancestors. This identification occurs elsewhere too: dubu ('devil-spirits') themselves were said to be 'like old people'; old men were said to have supernatural powers such as 'travelling' (spirit floating) at night (see Loos 1975:51).

preting her experience. Meyer (1889a) also noted that at the Wujalwujal camp, Kuku-Yalanji people blamed several cases of illness and a death on spirits: "As a result, the old men have been busy driving away [the] evil spirits. They have not had time to do anything else besides for a while now. They were on their feet all day long, walking all over this area, and come home late and totally exhausted." In addition, Roth (1903a:26) states: "Any whistling sound on the Bloomfield is connected with the spirits of people deceased: in fact the latter are supposed to communicate with mortal men by whistles which the old men are believed capable of interpreting" (cf. Chase 1980:148; von Sturmer 1978:290). Certain ceremonies performed by bingabinga were said also to protect the living from the power of the dead (see Roth 1903:20; 1907:366).

IV.5.2 Judicial and political control.

The authority gained by bingabinga through their connections with Ngujakura was not merely used to justify their control of resource distribution, of women and young men. Bingabinga were also the ones to sit in judgement on breaches of Law and to determine punishments. They also played central roles in dealing with grievances, settling disputes and in overall decision-making.

The general term for the breaking of rules or going against the Law in Kuku-Yalanji was bajanji. One major group of infringements involved the disregarding of food and other prohibitions, the breaking of name or place taboos, or other behavioural irregulariites. The breaking of these rules was seen to be followed necessarily, even if months later, by disease, accident or other misfortune for the law-breaker. Roth notes:

> All sickness and accidents which are not ascribable to willful damage at the hands of an enemy, are referred to the individual's own fault, either directly or indirectly. Disobedience of certain accepted rules of conduct, the breaking of 'tabu', the neglect of certain recognised precautions, etc., are all productive of ills for which the sufferer has only himself to blame (Roth 1903a:37).

And later:

> If a Bloomfield aboriginal will camp in the neighbourhood of a yirru he must put up with the consequences - some grievous sores. So again, in the breaking of 'tabu', if the individual willfully speaks of the name referring to someone deceased, he will have to abide by the result and submit to any mischief which the spirit of such person thus called upon may inflict: if he purposely eats certain forbidden dietaries - well, let him put up with the consequences (1903a:57).

It was always the older men who determined the cause or the likely consequences of particular actions. Failing punishment of this nature (or in addition to it), retribution was meted out by older men (see Roth 1908b:74-75). According to old people during my fieldwork, speaking the name of one's biwul (spouse's parent of opposite sex to oneself), walking in front of a sitting old man instead of behind him, or eating unbidden in his presence, could all bring, at best, a taboo declared on some favourite food or property or, at worst, a blow with a sharp woomera to the elbow, mouth or head.

Another major category of wrong-doings was that relating to sexual and marital matters. These included incorrect marriages, rape, adultery, stealing or running off with another person's actual or promised spouse. An incorrect union brought down tremendous group pressure on the errant couple: ridicule, contempt, and sneers and nagging, especially from old women. Sometimes, the punishment of death could be inflicted. In the case of a young male, the men (usually his mother's brothers) who were in charge of the boy's nganja ceremony carried out the sentence. One Kuku-Yalanji man, Bob Yerrie, described this:

> By and by marry. Right one though. No more wrong one. Kambanmu [classificatory cross-cousin]. Promised one. He keep that one. [If] you go wrong one, that fella turn around - that fella who been trainin' you - he turn around

and kunil you.[11]

Casual sexual relations could get one into trouble - at least those affairs undertaken indiscreetly or those which were considered 'crooked'. Forcible sex with an inappropriate woman brought quick and violent retribution for a man, especially if the woman had powerful relatives. Roth (1906:9) states: "On the Bloomfield, the offence [of rape] is recognised and punished by death, speared by the husband or mother's brother, or friends collectively: occasionally the offender may be spared his life, though severely maimed, when happening to have powerful friends." Although the lending of wives was common between related men and age-mates, the unbidden taking of spoken-for women was considered a serious matter. Hodgkinson (1886:9) noted that the latter at Bloomfield "leads to deadly enmity".

The outcome of such behaviour was usually physical punishment, such as thigh-spearing or a woomera blow to the head, and the sentence was usually carried out by the offended party. Sorcery reprisals were also used, even when the offending couple eloped and left the area (see Idriess 1934:23-43 for a good example). Curse-songs were used by older men in situations where another, often younger, man had stolen the former's wife. These songs were greatly feared and their efficacy in bringing about illness and death widely believed in. The older and more politically powerful the man, the more effective his songs were thought to be, because of his greater ability to use the power of Ngujakura. Old men could also 'send' things (e.g. bones, stingray barbs or special stones) to avenge certain actions. They could also manipulate effigies at certain sites to affect people at a distance (see Roth 1906:6; Rowan 1912:146; and Hodgkinson 1886:6).

The extent of control by old men can be clearly seen in the determination of guilt in cases of death where the guilty party's identity is uncertain, ambiguous or unknown. There were three main augury methods for determining guilt in such cases: one in which some hair of the deceased was twirled by old men and names were called until the hair broke; another in which the path of smoke from a fire was interpreted; and lastly, a method of simple questioning or a combination of deliberation and autopsy. The last was used especially in situations

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11. Note: 'kunil' here can mean either 'kill' or 'strike'.

where sorcery was suspected and when the dead person was particularly prominent. The aim of the autopsy was to find evidence for the insertion of foreign objects or of other foulplay. Such evidence was almost always found, as death was virtually never considered to be owing to natural causes (except in cases of very old age). The question then was the identity of the owner of the objects (e.g. a spear point) and thus that of the perpetrator of the death. Meyer (1889a) and Oates et al. 1964:17) both mention the questioning procedure and also the interpretation of guilt by communication with spirits (including access to the spirit of the deceased) by the old men. Meyer (1889a) and Roth (1903a:33; 1907:386-388) both give detailed descriptions of the autopsy procedure. These historical references and Kuku-Yalanji today all report that autopsies were generally carried out after the deaths of most adults, both male and female, and that only old men could conduct them.

Another major area of judicial concern was grievance management. This related to matters which were usually not capital offences, nor ones of the type discussed above in which certain transgressions were punished seemingly as of themselves. Grievances related more to quarrels between individuals over slights, insults, disagreements or as a result of gossiping, or over sexual matters or marital disputes. At this level there was not a codified set of rules for which society as a whole determined the appropriate punishment for transgressions. This was partly because it may often have not been clear what the latter were or whether or not they had occurred. These were all matters which had to be determined, and they provided the basis of arguments which tended to be aired not only just between the individuals involved, but also in the public domain. Roth describes the process:

> The settlement of private disputes is an individual concern, but any serious personal damage resulting is a tribal one: a sort of inquiry is held into the matter of justification for the injuries inflicted. The offender, for instance, has to show that he was within his rights . . . But where the general opinion of the elders is that the grounds of complaint do not justify the injuries that were inflicted, the individual has to undergo exactly the same mutilations subsequently at the hands of the victim, or, if this be impos-

sible, by certain of the latter's relatives (Roth 1906:5).

Failing satisfactory resolution of a dispute, the two opposing parties squared off in an organised formal spear fight (see Hodgkinson 1886:13 for an eyewitness account).

These 'inquiries' and formal fights were all called by and presided over by bingabinga as a matter of course. Yet everyone was not equally successful at making grievance claims nor at defending against them. Being able to sustain a weak claim or being able to get away with wrong-doing all depended to a large extent on status, one's own and that of one's kin and residential groups. It also depended on the degree of support of the latter, whether one was on one's own land and whether one had power over and above one's formal structural standing. There are no data on actual cases of this grievance management for the period this chapter deals with. It is clear, though, that old men as a general category would have played major roles in the process, and that specific men within that group, and as well, (in some cases) women, would have obtained a better hearing than others. I return to the evidence for such differences in the next section.

In cases where guilt was determined but the offence was not of a capital nature, then expiation normally consisted of a blow to the head with a woomera delivered generally by the guilty party's 'mother's brother'. Le Souef (1897:26-27), Idriess (1980 [1959]:250) and Roth (1906:10) all describe in detail this form of punishment for Bloomfield. However, the primary method of punishment at Bloomfield and on the Annan was known as nganyaburra. This was a form of trial by spear carried out to satisfy an offended person or group. Hodgkinson (1886:13) and Roth (1906:10) both mention the rarity of wounding in such cases, partly due to men's skill in blocking spears (something of which people speak in awe today), but also because of the diplomacy, negotiating and other skills of old men and women. Roth (1907:387) gives a detailed and excellent description (from Robert Hislop) of the processes involved in this institution.

Apart from their authority in legal matters, there is evidence in the literature that older men occasionally also made decisions as a group. Roth provides the most complete discussion for SECYP:

> The general government of the community is carried on by an assembly of elders, a camp council, as it were, of the older males: not that this council has any fixed constitution or definite name applied to it, but by common consent it is accepted that all the older males take part in its deliberations which, after all,are more or less informal . . .the very composition of this assembly of elders gives it its strength, and enables it to put its wishes into execution.
>
> Matters with which such a camp council concerns itself are those connected with the welfare and interests of the tribe collectively, and mainly relate to its external affairs, though events may take place in the homelife which call for interference. The question of peace or war would fall within its province, as well as the discussion of conditions for any proposed covenant . . . The promiscuous use of fighting implements within the precincts of the camp is considered an offence against the tribe collectively . . Other affairs of state would include the reception of visitors and strangers,[12] shifting of the camp, arrangements for trade and barter, and the exchange of songs and dances. When a medicine-man etc. has been making too much rain, or practising witchcraft too promiscuously or even one of their own tribesmen has been rendering himself so obnoxious as to inconvenience the tribe collectively, it is the camp council which takes action in removing the nuisance in more senses than one: on the Bloomfield, kal-nga [actually kalngar] expresses such a mischievous and obstreperous individual, a real 'bully' in fact . . . While the assembly of elders will demand satisfaction for the killing of one of its number by an ex-tribesman, provided, of course the number of its fighting men is adequate to enforce its demands, it will also interfere in the case of homicide or serious physical injury committed by one of its own tribesmen of tribeswomen on another . . . Other matters with which the assembly of elders concerns itself are breaches of a sexual nature (Roth 1906:5. Emphasis added).

12. Roth (1906:8) describes in detail how the old men controlled completely the entry of all to camp areas.

IV.6 Status and the individual.

Apart from the status differences discussed thus far for Kuku-Yalanji society, status position also varied over the course of the lifetime of an individual. The classification of sex and age-grade categories in Kuku-Yalanji society is shown in Figure 10. Several points can be made about the changes in formal status positions over time for these categories:

(i) Males almost always had more power and authority than women. The only possible exception was during the time when women married and boys of an equivalent age were still considered children;

(ii) There was a steady increase in both female and male power and authority with age, but the rate of increase for males was greater than that for females (although this may not always have been so);

(iii) Female power declined earlier than that of males, but male power also declined as very old age set in;

(iv) The power and authority of deceased males (_via_ their spirits) remained viable for longer than that of females;

The power and authority of _bingabinga_ as a social category was not totally general and undifferentiated. Above and beyond the power inherent in a person by virtue of his or her sex and age, there was considerable scope for difference in individual male (and to a lesser extent female) power and influence. The following list of Kuku-Yalanji terms indicates a general recognition of exceptional personal qualities in individuals.

kakawarri - 'to be very good at something'
duray - 'clever, able to trick people'
juburr - 'experienced, expert or clever at something'
muna - 'brave', 'courageous'
walay - 'being good at working or getting food, as with an exceptional hunter'
minday - 'not shy', 'forthright'
dalngan - 'to do a dangerous task well'
mala - 'expert', e.g. _mala-minya_, 'expert hunter'; _mala-kuku_, 'expert speaker'.

MALES		FEMALES
	ngawa (0 - 4 yrs) *karrkay* (5 - 12 yrs)	
dabal (ca. 5 - 12 yrs)		*maral* (ca. 8 - 13 yrs; unmarried girl)
warru (ca. 13 - 18 yrs)		
jabul (Uninitiated) *marri* (ca. 18 - marriage)		*jalbu* (Married woman - ca. 40 yrs) *kurmba* (Woman who has recently given birth to her first child)
ngumbal (Initiated *dingkar* (Married man - ca. 45 yrs)		
binga (Over 45 yrs)		*kamba* (Over 40 yrs)

Figure 10 Kuku-Yalanji age/sex/status categories.

The historical references below demonstrate more specifically this recognition:

> The Bloomfield River natives make a distinction in the final obsequies between those males who have passed their days in comparative peace and quiet and those who have rendered themselves unusually prominent . . . In the case of any male who happens to have no powerful relatives, or who was never made conspicuous by any deeds of valour or prowess . . . [burial is simple and there is no question of sorcery] . . . When an aboriginal who has had plenty of friends or who has made a name for himself, at last closes his eyes in death, there is a greater amount of mourning, and steps are taken to discover the murderer who doomed him, then to punish him . . . (Roth 1907:385-86).

There were other individuals too who had special powers by virtue of certain personal qualities, experience and training. These were the rrunyuji[13] or Aboriginal 'doctors', who specialised in the use of spiritual and natural powers for socio-medicinal purposes. More generally though there were powerful individuals within the bingabinga category who were termed majamaja.[14] Such a distinction corresponds to Pareto's (1935 [1915-19]) notion of a governing elite within an overall elite. This is not to imply that majamaja governed in any co-operative sense. The unity implied in the notion of the so-called council of elders in much of the early literature for SECYP and elsewhere in Australia is probably overstated. Bingabinga, being a social category and not an actual group, would have rarely acted in concert. The distinguishing quality of majamaja was achieved status, and this necessarily derived from competition between individuals which must have militated against too many co-operative endeavours, particularly political ones. A

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13. This word, with its initial rr-, is unique in Kuku-Yalanji. It may be a loan word from another CYP language.

14. Although Hershberger & Hershberger (1982) believe this may be a derivative from the English 'master'. They also note though the use of the term dukul ('head') for 'boss' in similar contexts.

comment of Roth's supports this. He notes that in an 'assembly of elders' :

> Care is taken that no one of any importance is neglected for, should such a one consider himself slighted, he might turn sulky and cause trouble. Age by itself is not necessarily deemed sufficient to raise an individual to the degree of importance necessary to give his opinions weight: fighting qualities, but especially social rank . . . have a very great deal to do with it. The possession of many wives also gives a man social importance; more wives mean more relatives, and so a larger following (Roth 1906:5; see also Hodgkinson 1886:4).

In general, Roth (1906:6) notes: "Natives regard the man according as he can hold his own in fighting and in hunting - i.e. in proportion to the possession of those qualifications which enable him to overcome an adversary and ensure his success in the search for food." People today speak of certain legendary - although real - men who were able to flout rules with impunity, particularly those relating to sexual matters. As one man said: "Bama couldn't help it. [i.e. there was nothing people could do about the transgressions.] That fella too strong. Nyulu maja!" ['He was a boss!'] (see also Chase 1980:187).

On the other side, Roth (1907:386) mentions that some Aboriginal men "who happen to have no powerful friends" were the butt of sorcery accusations. And he notes that "some poor wretch, who has comparatively few friends" (1903b:33) would be blamed for someone's death, noting that in the Bloomfield district "some one must die, must be killed for the death of every 'important' male aboriginal" (1907:386). In Kuku-Yalanji, the term kurrbarbuyun refers to a powerless person, one with no allies or friends. Roth notes too that "powerful friends" at Bloomfield would prevent offenders against the Law from being killed (1906:9).

Most significantly, in light of my argument in Chapter III, a person's power varied too according to where they were camped. Older men were usually at their most powerful on the estate of which they were the primary and senior patrilineal descendents. One of the first reports sent by the Lutheran missionaries at Bloomfield in 1887 demonstrates this well:

> They are poygamous here . . . the headman for instance, has 6 wives . . . He does not join in [with the other Aborigines'] labours. He claims that all this land is his but he is agreeable to let us work it, as long as he gets meals . . his word seems to carry a lot of weight amongst them (Meyer 1887a).[15]

IV.7 Conclusion.

Ngujakura was an ideological system believed to govern the interaction between human beings and the environment and humans with each other. As such, it reflected the social relations of production in Kuku-Yalanji society. It ensured the supply of necessary resources, and it secured the distribution and channelling of resources in particular directions. Ngujakura also defined in a general way the form of social relationships. The Kuku-Yalanji world order was seen largely to be dependent on fulfilment of this Law. Bingabinga, the adult and older men, were viewed as the cornerstones of Ngujakura through their connections with the spiritual world. The upholding of the Law - as defined by the bingabinga, of course - protected humans from spirit malintent. In addition, it ensured continuance of the Kuku-Yalanji world order. However, it also helped maintain the relations of production and, specifically, the dominant position of the bingabinga. I have presented in this chapter a range of situations in which can be seen the exercise of this domination and its justification in Ngujakura. To summarise these:

(i) Kuku-Yalanji relations of production enabled bingabinga to effect a direct and indirect appropriation of certain food items (particularly high protein ones) as well as the most desired parts of other food items (e.g. livers) by: a) reserving items obtained by young men for themselves; b) prohibiting certain foods to categories of people (women, initiates, temporary prohibitions on younger men) other than themselves; c) prohibiting food of any kind from certain areas to anyone other than

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15. This mission was situated - as it is today - on the Kuku-Yalanji estate, Wujalwujal, and the man mentioned was a senior male of the clan who owned that estate.

themselves; d) and controlling the redistribution of food generally;
(ii) The betrothal system reserved young women for the bingabinga, who were then able to have multiple wives, thereby increasing their political power and the economic output of their domestic groups. The augury ceremonies such as tooth avulsion allowed for further manipulation of marriage patterns of both young men and women by older men;
(iii) The nganja ceremony marked the dramatic transition of young men from powerless non-responsibility to a state of at least being formally aware of a new sphere of knowledge, and thereby into a position of potential power - i.e. they were co-opted. The ceremony was training in the acceptance of power, if not in its actual exercise. It also served, for others, to foster the continued mystification and enhancement of power, while for the young men, the ceremony acted to a large extent to demystify power. Kuku-Yalanji women had no equivalent transition ceremony. The birth of a first child was seen as somewhat of a parallel event, in that it, like nganja, signalled the move to adulthood. Yet this transition was not marked by any major or elaborate ritual activity.
(iv) Women in general were excluded from what was seen by both men and women as the sphere of significant knowledge. As such, they had little formal power, and as a consequence their status was an unabashedly subordinate one;[16]
(v) Bingabinga were in judicial control in that it was in their power to determine whether transgressions of various laws had occurred and if so, to legitimate (or not) retributive action. The power thus lay in their ability to determine 'guilt'. They also played fundamentally important roles in the management of grievances and in the settling of disputes.
(vi) Bingabinga were the major figures in decisions to be made concerning the camp as a whole.

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16. I must stress here that this statement only applies to SECYP. I think in many ways Bloomfield is atypical in this respect, certainly in comparison with WCYP where women were accorded greater status and had more formal and informal political power.

While focussing primarily on bingabinga as a structural category and the status and power which stemmed from their position, I have argued in this chapter that the relations of production in Kuku-Yalanji society cannot be wholly defined in this way. Bingabinga status and power were not undifferentiated, and it seems clear that certain individuals within this group had high levels of achieved status, and thus greater power and authority, while others had very little. The evidence for differences in status, both of individuals and of groups associated with them, becomes much more apparent with the arrival of Europeans in SECYP.

PART 3: A NATURAL HISTORY OF KUKU-YALANJI CAMPS IN SECYP, 1880-1956.

Chapter V: Introduction: European intervention.

V.1 Introduction.

Part III of this thesis describes the arrival of Europeans in SECYP and the various forms their activities took there (Chapter V). It then presents several case studies of the articulation of these activities with Kuku-Yalanji society (Chapters VI - VIII). Chapter IX summarises the articulation patterns in the case studies and looks at some of the consequences for Kuku-Yalanji of their new relationships.

In the present chapter I describe the reasons for the appearance of Europeans in SECYP, and the forms which this appearance took. Most of the literature on contact in Australia tells us surprisingly little about what actually brought about 'contact' in the first place. Usually it assumes a uniform effect on Aborigines, or else it is taken for granted what the relevant elements of European society are. This produces discussions of the impact of 'the settlers', or of 'European society', on Aborigines (cf. Reece 1974: Woolmington 1973). More usefully, some recent historians (e.g. Loos and Reynolds) have grouped various European activities together into what they term frontiers: for example, the 'pastoral frontier', the 'mining frontier' and so on. This is certainly a beginning, but as Chapter II points out, even this concatenation may obscure certain critical features. The categories are still fairly gross ones. For instance, different forms of the same industry may have quite different social and physical impacts.

Such categorization also may hinder discussion of several important factors. The first of these is the issue of scale. Very large scale, macro or global factors, need to be separated from more local factors. The effects of world market fluctuations in the price of different minerals need to be considered independently of the form which particular mining took in a given area; Christian beliefs in general and various denominational mission policies do not always allow prediction of the practices of a particular mission. Secondly, there is the issue of the range of contact agencies within a given frontier situation, for instance, the interaction between specific industries and government policy and administration. Thirdly, there are factors stemming from the nature of the various agencies. Tin-mining, for example, has its particular labour needs and environmental effects, pastoralism its needs

and effects and so on. Finally, there is the issue of the role of individual Europeans within the agency with which they are associated.

In order to systematise these points for analysis, it is useful to think of all these agencies as having a commonality quite apart from their shared capitalist and colonialist basis, in their interventionist relationships with Aborigines. The degree of intervention cannot be assumed to be equivalent in all cases. Nor can a single major effect be attributed to each agency. Rather I choose to describe the situations in terms of intervention complexes. I use the term intervention because the various activities not only created new sets of physical and social conditions, but also intervened purposefully in Aboriginal societies to impose a different world order on Aboriginal people (cf. von Sturmer 1982:86-7). The interventions are complexes because each of them had a number of different levels or elements. These include the physical and human resource needs, the environmental and social impacts, the different individuals involved and the different ideologies in each. The use of such a concept allows a more systematic view of the degree and kind of contact effects which they had in the area. Specifically, the chapter examines the intervention complexes which developed in SECYP in the seventy or so years after first contact. This chapter also stands as an introduction to the case studies in the next three chapters in which the actual articulation of the complexes with Kuku-Yalanji groups and individuals are presented.

V.2 European intrusion into north Queensland and its development ideology.

Firstly, I want to discuss some of the social, political, economic and historical forces which brought Europeans into SECYP, examining in the process certain ideological aspects of European culture concerning development and Aborigines. Together these aspects form some of the macro-elements of the intervention complexes.

The movement of Europeans into north Queensland in the last half of the nineteenth century must be seen against the backdrop of social and economic conditions which existed in Queensland after its separation from New South Wales in 1859. By this time, the tropical coast of Queensland had already been navigated and some northern coastal areas explored. This initial northern exploration was not for any expansion potential per se, but rather to locate faster and safer shipping lanes

which would facilitate trade between the southern colonies and Europe and Asia. The siting of military establishments in the far north was also seen as essential for the protection of the country as a whole from French interests and, later, from Asian invasion (Hunt 1974:205). The Moreton Bay colony, in what was then far northern New South Wales, was begun in 1824. In the early 1860s, the new Queensland government was anxious to establish its economic independence and to promote development of any kind which was seen as beneficial to the colony. A land boom quickly developed and the size of the European settled area in the southeastern portion of the colony doubled between 1860 and 1866 (Fitzgerald 1982:125). The government was also keen to encourage population growth, and this was seen as linked to the 'opening up' of the north. Immigrants were attracted from the other colonies all hoping to make a prosperous and new life in the recently opened areas (Bolton 1972:24).

The general view of Queensland was aptly stated by Sir George Bowen, the colony's first governor. He described Queensland as "a 'great property' to be developed along good sound business lines for the benefit of the colonists and posterity" (Farnfield 1974:12). Following an initial burst of growth, though, the Queensland economy began to flag by the mid-1860s. This was due to several factors, among which were the stifling effect the large-holding pastoralists had on the government and the economy, a prolonged drought and the collapse of the London financial markets in 1866. The discovery of gold and the advent of the mining industry at this point was seen as the saving of Queensland's independence and the path to unprecedented prosperity and economic growth. Mining was certainly the major force behind the move of large numbers of Europeans and their various activities into north Queensland. Apart from bringing prospectors, miners and mine-related workers into the area, the discovery of gold particularly, provided beef markets for fledgling (or in some areas, failing) pastoral enterprises. It also led to the establishment of towns, ports, communications and transport facilities on a large scale (see Colwell 1974; Kennedy 1980). The expansion of significant numbers of Europeans into north Queensland corresponds precisely with gold discoveries.

Following the opening up for selection of the Kennedy district around Bowen in 1861, gold was discovered and fields established at Gympie in 1867, Ravenswood - 1868, Etheridge - 1871, Charters Towers -

1871, Palmer River - 1872, and Hodgkinson - 1876. As Colwell (1974:76) shows, Queensland's European population increased by 50% from 1871 to 1876. In some areas (Ravenswood, for example), the initial infrastructure of settlement disappeared with the decline of gold production. In others (e.g. Charters Towers), the development of other minerals and the continuing development of pastoralism provided the basis for permanent towns. For the purposes of this work, we can note that in northern Queensland mining was the dominant influence in the formation of the social and economic character of the area (cf. Dalton 1980; Kennedy 1980).

Other industries were, however, growing in importance. Sugar was first planted on the central Queensland coast in the late 1860s. By the 1880s, the introduction of new technology and southern capital created a sugar land boom which rapidly took Europeans into the lowland coastal areas of the Cairns region and into CYP. The Queensland government gave a great deal of support to the sugar industry at all stages, but particularly to the small-holding growers from about 1884 on. The government provided rail transport, finance for cooperative mills and marketing and pricing mechanisms. The lugger and timber industries were two other important industries during this period. Coastal areas unsettled by Europeans were visited by beche-de-mer and pearlshell boats from at least the 1860s. By the 1880s these products were the most important marine exports from Queensland (see Loos 1982:118-159). While logging produced little revenue for the government (see Frawley 1983), the timber-getters were generally some of the first Europeans into the coastal rainforest districts, and it was they who often led the way for later sugar growers.

The period between the late 1860s and the first part of the twentieth century was one of rapid and sustained growth in Queensland. The pattern of economic development was one of boom periods alternating with short periods of stagnation and depression. Undoubtedly, the prime movers for this era were mining, pastoralism and sugar, and these industries were the determining features of north Queensland's transformation into a wholly European dominated domain within a few short decades. There was an almost religious commitment by the government and by individual Europeans to the economic development of north Queensland, no matter the cost. The impetus for exploration was always the hope of discovering economic potential in uncharted areas.

Movement into an area by European settlers was always predicated on exploiting that potential, and land classification and declaration was always on the basis of maximal economic utility. As Fitzgerald (1982:113) states: "the idea of progress [was] inseparably attached to the 'moving frontier'," and "the sense of the need for 'development' was . . strongly linked with the pervading belief that economic advance was a pre-requisite of moral advance."

V.3 European views of Aborigines.

Given a context of unbridled economic exploitation and of values extolling the virtues of individual participation in the development of the north, it is interesting to examine how the Aboriginal inhabitants were viewed by Europeans.

There are three intertwined viewpoints concerning Aboriginal people which emerge from the literature, and these have a certain temporal order, but aspects of all three can be seen at any given point of time. Thus, although I discuss the views in their general temporal order, I place no time delimitation on them.

The first viewpoint I term 'active negativism', because with it the white settlers not only had negative feelings about Aborigines, but they also translated their feelings into action. The view stemmed from two related beliefs, firstly, that Aborigines were seen as foes, hostile to what Europeans saw as the natural development of north Queensland and to the rights of the individual white to improve his lot. Because of this hostility (and because of the Aboriginal strength of resistance in many areas), Aborigines were viewed with great anxiety and fear. Secondly, Aborigines were seen as part of the wild, untamed and undeveloped natural environment. Development meant that the dangerous and retarding obstacles could be conquered and overcome and untapped resources could be exploited.

Fear of Aborigines was an important feature of frontier living. Henry Reynolds (1975) shows how this state of fear (and the resultant violence) has often been ignored by analysts of contact relations. He states (p. 24) that "Acute anxiety about the blacks was a common experience . . . Over-reaction was frequent. Yet the fear was real and must be taken seriously by historians." Reynolds cites examples from all of north Queensland, and he demonstrates that European-settled areas

were sometimes abandoned due to this fear of Aborigines (see also Evans 1965). The fear greatly affected individual attitudes and behaviour towards Aborigines and created a collective insecurity in many recently settled towns in the north. The editor of the Cooktown Herald wrote in 1874 that:

> It is in no drivelling tone that we say our houses and our wives and children are at the mercy of these black rascals, who if they in broad daylight will drive in white men and then cooly massacre their horses and bullocks, only five miles from Cooktown we may reasonably expect that in the absence of the native policy they will some fine night or day either slaughter us when we are quite unprepared, or burn us out of their territory (Cited by Reynolds 1975:25).

Considering Aborigines to be merely another part of the Australian environment was a basic element of European thinking. References to Aborigines as 'black vermin', 'black game', and as 'pests' and 'nuisances' are widespread in the literature. R. Evans (1975) demonstrates how the scientific racism (including that of anthropologists) in the nineteenth century was related to popular perceptions of Aborigines as animals. He notes, "With scientific investigators relating Aborigines to apes, encouragement was naturally given to colonists to compare Aborigines to animal species closer to home" (p. 76). Evans cites many examples of this tendency in nineteenth century writings. A more recent summary expression of it is given by Cilento & Lack (1959:178):

> It is usual to assess the aboriginals of the earliest period of record by comparison with mature, or, indeed primitive civilizations, and in that fact lies the source of many errors of evaluation. They were outside the ambit of any 'civilization'. They must be considered as nomads of the jungle or savannah or desert, comparable with the animal groups that inhabited those areas, for which they felt (and in some instances claimed) an affinity.

Many of the positive viewpoints concerning Aborigines also stemmed from the same assumption that Aborigines were part of the environment: the romantic or Rousseauian notion of the idyllic life of Aborigines 'at one with nature' (see Chase 1970). The view was also basic to much of the scientific interest in Aborigines in the late 1800s. The universe of study for most naturalists who visited north Queensland not only included the plants and animals of the new lands, but it also extended to the Aboriginal inhabitants. Meek (1913), Le Souef (1894; 1896; 1897; n.d.), Semon (1899) and Lumholtz (1979 [1889]) all illustrate the point.

The second viewpoint concerning Aborigines I term 'benign negativism'. It assumed greater prominence when the fear of a physical threat against whites on the part of Aborigines diminished. The view was based, firstly, on a profound hatred for Aborigines and a repugnance for their past and present way of life. It may have arisen from guilt over European actions, but it was also due to what were seen as great differences between Europeans and Aborigines in land use. Additionally, Aborigines were considered to have traits which made them a particularly unsavoury example of humanity; they were seen as lazy, untrustworthy and degraded as befitted their nomadic lifestyle. Europeans were convinced of the "innate and insurmountable biologically imposed inferiority of the Aborigines" (Hughes 1975:32). As Loos (1979:234) has noted, the irony here was that Aboriginal resistance to European domination was seen as treachery, cowardice or ingratitude. Yet the fact of their ultimate defeat was seen as further proof of their inferiority.

These negative attitudes of Europeans led to indifference and to benign neglect of the increasing problems of disease, malnutrition and high mortality rates. The inevitability of this was seen as a justification. Aborigines were meant to disappear, a 'natural' process in the face of a dominant and superior race. Queensland's major newspaper summed this view up in 1865:

> The miserable creatures who once roamed unrestricted over the vast territory now occupied by our enterprising colonists are fast disappearing. Their case is a hopeless one. It seems to be a general law that the encroachment of the whites brings about the extinction of the blacks. They disappear before the white man's face (Brisbane Courier 7/8/1865; Cited by Fitzgerald 1982:210).

The third and final of my colonial viewpoints on Aborigines was that of 'reformist-paternalistic control'. The move for reform - or at least for some solution to the 'Aboriginal problem' - came in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A government commission was set up in 1873 to consider "certain questions in relation to the amelioration of the condition of the Aborigines" (Q.G.G. 25/9/1873 p. 1582). The commission recommended the setting aside of reserves for Aborigines and the control of the more unfavourable aspects of Aboriginal-European contact. There was also growing interstate and international concern about Queensland's treatment of Aborigines (Q.V.& P. 1875 p. 839). The government, in response, began to set up a number of reserves for Aborigines on an experimental basis. These reforms were brought to an end, however, by an extended drought, a large state deficit and the fall of the Liberal government in 1879. Early in the next decade, legislation was passed (mainly because of pressure from Britain) to protect Aborigines from the worst abuses of the pearl and beche-de-mer traders. All this led to the establishment of ration distribution centres at several stations in the north Queensland region. With the depressed economic conditions in Queensland after 1885 and the subsequent slowing down of occupation by pastoralists of Cape York, the government was persuaded to gazette a number of reserves there. These were to be managed exclusively by church organizations, though, with little financial contribution from the government. Mapoon was established in 1891, Cape Bedford in 1885, Bloomfield River in 1886 and Cape Grafton in 1891.

Yet, towards the end of the nineteenth century and almost 70 years after the colony had been founded, no systematic and reasoned attempt had been made to develop longer-term policy for Aborigines in Queensland. Study trips of the north were undertaken by several prominent government officials in 1895-6 and their reports made a plea for "a better order of things" (see Parry-Okeden 1897; Meston 1896). Many of their recommendations were incorporated into the Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897. It was the first legislation in Australia which attempted a comprehensive solution to Aborigines and their problems. The emphasis in the act was on protection, segregation and control. The basis of the act was the comprehensive powers vested in the police and what were known as protectors. As Fitzgerald (1982:219) notes: the latter "decided who was

or who was not an Aboriginal, supervised the movements, wages, and property of those on the reserve, and even granted permission to marry . . . At the protector's discretion, offenders were exiled from their local reserve and moved to a more distant settlement" (see also Anderson 1981; Evans 1975). The authoritarian paternalism of the act and its administration have remained basically unchanged throughout the twentieth century until today, despite minor adjustments.

This reform period can be seen as the developing of a policy designed to 'smooth the pillow' of a dying race (see Evans 1975:80-84), but also it was a means to control and protect Aborigines from themselves and from exploitation by white settlers. The Doomed Race theory provided certainty of the Aboriginal demise, but the reserve system offered at least what was felt by many at the time to be a humane and sensible solution to many problems for both Aborigines and whites. Yet, Aboriginal reform was always subordinated in Queensland to economic expediency and development requirements. For instance, the principle for determining location and size of reserves for the 'use of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the state' was always one of the land's potential use or non-use by Europeans. In order that the land could never be alienated by Aboriginal 'ownership' or occupation, right to Aboriginal reserve land was always vested in the Crown. Also, the notion of protecting Aborigines did not mean preserving them in their native condition, nor did Aborigines have any say about such matters. It was unabashedly a policy of assimilation to European ways, and the most significant of these ways was considered to be work. To teach Aborigines to work was to 'civilise' them, to make them 'useful' (see May 1983:37; Loos 1975:48). The government, wholly underpinned by development and economic expansion, created an elaborate welfare system and institutional framework in order to solve what were seen as exclusively Aboriginal problems. The aim in doing this was to control and mold Aborigines into models of Europeans, providing needed labour and at the same time, removing them from the land as hindrances to development.

V.4 Intervention complexes in southeast Cape York Peninsula: tin-mining.

V.4.1 Introduction.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I discuss a number of specific intervention complexes which appeared in southeast Cape York Peninsula from the late 1870s on. I examine why they were there, how they got there, their processes and effects, the types of individuals associated with them, their related value systems and also how the complexes fitted in with more macro- or global factors.

Because of the significance of the Palmer River goldfields in the development of European settlement as a whole in southeast Cape York Peninsula, it is worth considering their history briefly before moving on to tin-mining, the most important intervention complex in the nearby Bloomfield and Annan districts. Following the early discoveries of gold by Hann and Mulligan, a rush developed in June 1873 to the Palmer River goldfield. By the end of that year, there were over 500 miners on the Palmer, and at least 8,000 ounces of gold had been won (see Jack 1922). Within two years, the field was occupied by 15,000 Europeans and almost 20,000 Chinese. Along with the miners were butchers, publicans, farmers, builders, carters and packers. Some men had also brought wives and children. There was an immediate need for a port and administrative centre to serve the gold fields, and Cooktown was established at the mouth of the Endeavour River. Although by 1896 Cooktown had a permanent population of under 3,000, tens of thousands of people had passed through it on their way to and from the Palmer. The municipal area spread over 20 square km with 30 km of streets, and there were three major newspapers. In November 1875, a railway from Cooktown west to the Palmer road was laid, and in 1888 it was extended to the Laura River. By 1909, the cumulative production total for the Palmer field was 1,325,918 ounces (about 30 tons).

A continuing problem for the miners was the supply of foodstuffs, especially of meat. The rush to the Palmer sent cattle prices up to an average of £10 per head, and cattle drives were undertaken to the gold fields as soon as possible after the wet of 1874 from the more northerly stations of settled Queensland (see Bolton 1972:91). Following this, graziers arrived in southeast Cape York Peninsula to take up runs for the supply of beef to the Maytown/Palmer districts as well as to

Cooktown. The major stations set up in the late 1870s and early 1880s in this district were Normanby River, Laura, King's Plains, Spring Vale and Butcher's Hill. Closer to Cooktown, there were Oakey Creek and Green Hill (see Figure 2).

As gold production on the Palmer field began to decline in the early 1880s, attention turned in southeast Cape York Peninsula to other minerals. This search was backed in large part by Cooktown business interests. Some coal was found near Oakey Creek and near Deighton Station further northwest of Cooktown, and as well small quantities of copper, wolfram and molybdenite. Hopes of a new boom in the area came with the discovery of tin in 1885 near Mt. Romeo in the Annan district by William Baird and his Aboriginal offsider, Romeo.[1] This was to herald the first sustained and significant contact between Europeans and Kuku-Yalanji people in the Bloomfield and Annan areas. There appears to have been little if any white settlement in this region until the late 1870s, as the main thoroughfare from Cooktown to the Palmer goldfields was some 50 km north of Kuku-Yalanji country and well beyond the limits of pre-contact travel. By late 1886 the rugged mountainous sources of the Annan River and some areas around Bloomfield became the Annan and Bloomfield tin fields. The mining of tin and its related activities thus became the first major, and certainly one of the most significant intervention complexes to face Kuku-Yalanji people.

V.4.2 Production processes.

The basic production aim of tin-mining is to expose tin deposits by removing the overburden and separating out the tinstone, or tin-bearing ore. On the Bloomfield and Annan fields, tin is found in several deposit forms, the most important being alluvial ones along stream channels and terrace deposits above streams and on their banks. An important point about SECYP is that "no important workable deposits of metals other that those in tinstone [are] found in this area" (Saint-Smith 1916:180). This is an extremely rare situation for a tin-field. Production process varies according to the nature of the deposit, but there were two primary methods in SECYP:

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1. Interestingly, this man - a Kuku-Nyungkul speaker - discovered the tin on his own patriclan estate, Nyambilnyambil.

(i) Stripping of overburden by hand and using box sluicing to separate the tailings from the tinstone. This method required no machinery, only 'banjoes'- wooden boxes with different grades of grill-work for separation;
(ii) 'Hydraulicing'. This was by far the most common method used in SECYP. Water was brought from elsewhere in fluming and races (stone or wooden channelling), then into a series of metal pipes which gradually got smaller, then finally into a nozzle. The latter then provided a tremendous pressure of water flow which was turned onto the face to break down the overburden. The tin was then washed down and separated from the soil and rocks in sluice boxes. Hydraulicing was more expensive due to the requirement of large-scale race construction, the use of metal pipes and the need for more labour. Substantial initial capital was thus required before production could commence. The Queensland government did, however, provide advances and loans for promising claims and this reduced the need for outside capital involvement. Due to the expense and the heavy equipment involved, only minor river dredging and some shaft-mining of tin lodes took place in SECYP.

One of the most critical factors in tin production was water. A high amount of good steady rainfall was necessary to create conditions for viable ground sluicing. With adequate falls, miners could single-handedly or in small groups produce large quantities of tin ore in a short time. However, extended periods of intensive rain produced large, fast-flowing flood waters which caused a great deal of damage to races and dams and grossly altered stream courses. This covered and uncovered deposits making the value of some claims variable from year to year. The dry season, for the great majority of miners, brought work to a standstill. The dry was used, though, as a time for what was called dead work. Such work included clearing and burning off timber, removing overburden, constructing head and tail races and making pipes. Up until the 1920s some miners cut sandalwood during the dry and sold it to Chinese merchants in Cooktown (see Saint-Smith 1916:171). The seasonal changes in SECYP were thus an important determining feature for mining. Generally only the eight months from November to June provided an adequate water supply for most mines to operate successfully. In some areas where water supply was short, sluicing was only possible during the height of the wet season. Whether ground sluicing or hydraulicing,

a balance was needed between too little and too much rain. The uncertainty brought about by this situation favoured small-scale operations whose miners could turn to other means of making a living during the off-periods or who had surplus resources enough to see them through the dry season.

Labour needs associated with tin-mining can be divided into those activities primarily involved with the mining and those which came about as ancillary to the mining. The former included prospectors, face workers, nozzle men, race minders, tin handlers and general labourers (for removal of overburden, fluming and race construction, etc.). In practice, there was little specialization and most men could and did do any of the jobs. Work ancillary to the mining included packing and carting (taking pipes, supplies and mail to the tin fields and returning to Cooktown with the tin, as well as the cartage of timber and equipment on the field), stockwork and butchering, market gardening, selling of store goods and of alcohol. Table 5 gives a breakdown of the non-Aboriginal population in area for the years 1888 to 1914.

V.4.3 Tin output and quality.

In 1887, Robert Logan Jack, then the Queensland government geologist, reported that "Stream tin is being obtained in almost every gully from Mt. Romeo to Mt. Amos" (1891:1). In 1910 the Annual Report of the Queensland Department of Mines stated (p. 14): "In the Cooktown district the watershed of the Annan River is rapidly asserting a claim to be ranked amongst the more important tin-producing centres of the state." And Saint-Smith noted in 1916 (p. 180-181): "This field [the Annan], though rarely affording any sensationally rich fields [will] continue to maintain a steady output of metal for a very long period of years; the life of this particular field must necessarily be very great". The production figures given in the annual reports reveal that the initial period was the one of the highest yield in SECYP. From 1887 to 1895, a total of 5361 tons was produced at an average of 595.66 tons per year. 1896 to 1907 saw a fall in production with only 1,944 tons, averaging almost 200 tons per year. With the outbreak of World War I, the bottom fell out of the market and it never really recovered. Production from 1916 to 1945 totalled 2076 tons (an average of only 69.2 tons per year), with a production low of 27 tons at the beginning of the

TABLE 5

Non-Aboriginal population in upper Annan River valley
1888-1914 (non inclusive)

Year	Miners	Carters etc.	Merchants etc.	Women & children	Totals
1888	800	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	800 +
1889	400	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	400 +
1890	300	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	300 +
1899	120	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	120 +
1901	120		100 'others'		220
1902	152	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	152 +
1903	79	N.F.A.	N.F.A.	49	128 +
1905	270	N.F.A.	23	139	532 +
1906	200	N.F.A.	14	100	314 +
1907	156	8	14	104	282
1908	189	10	15	91	305
1910	180	9	13	155	357
1911	164	14	7	127	313
1914	212	42	48	199	501

N.F.A. = No figures available

\+ = minimum

Source: Queensland Department of Mines Annual Reports

Depression. Most of the tin produced during this latter period was from a handful of claims at Rossville and at Romeo. The graph in Figure 11 shows overall tin production and changes in price over this period. The locations of claims for selected years (generally those of greatest activity), and the main mining and settlement areas are given in Figure 12. Production by specific place in SECYP is shown in Table 6.

An important factor in the productivity of the SECYP fields was that the tin found there was of a very high quality. The mineral almost never occurs in a pure state, but is usually found in an oxidized form with other minerals and is known as cassiterite, tinstone, tin ore or black tin. The maximum quantity of tin in cassiterite is 78.6%. Saint-Smith (1916:156) reported that "It is doubtful if any extensive tin field in the world - certainly none in Australia - yields cassiterite of a higher assay value in bulk lots than the [SECYP] fields." Tinstone from the Shipton's Flat claims was up to 76.7% tin, from Romeo up to 76% and from Sand Hills at Mt. Amos an extraordinary 77.4%.

V.4.4 Relations of production of tin-mining in SECYP.

Tin-mining is a special kind of mining, due to the nature of the deposits, the environments they are found in and the production processes necessary to extract the ore. These factors facilitated, at least on the SECYP field, quite unique relations of production - i.e. ownership and management patterns, outside capital needs, etc. These in turn affected secondary European settlement patterns and the support industry patterns in the area. The basic form of mining on the field from its discovery until today has been that of small-scale (2-5 men) operation - usually with one or more of these men being the claim holder. Some of the biggest and most reliable claims (e.g. those at Romeo) were set up and operated by two men for over thirty years. The high quality of the tinstone in the area also meant a good value/bulk ratio - important with high transport costs allowing the small-scale operators to produce relatively small amounts of tin and still make good returns. The single operator was often 'staked' by Cooktown merchants and storekeepers, who would provide food and supplies on credit for several months until the mines started producing tin (see Pike 1979 and Idriess 1980 [1959]:12). In turn, some of the individual operators who ran the long-term, well-producing mines were also entrepreneurs,

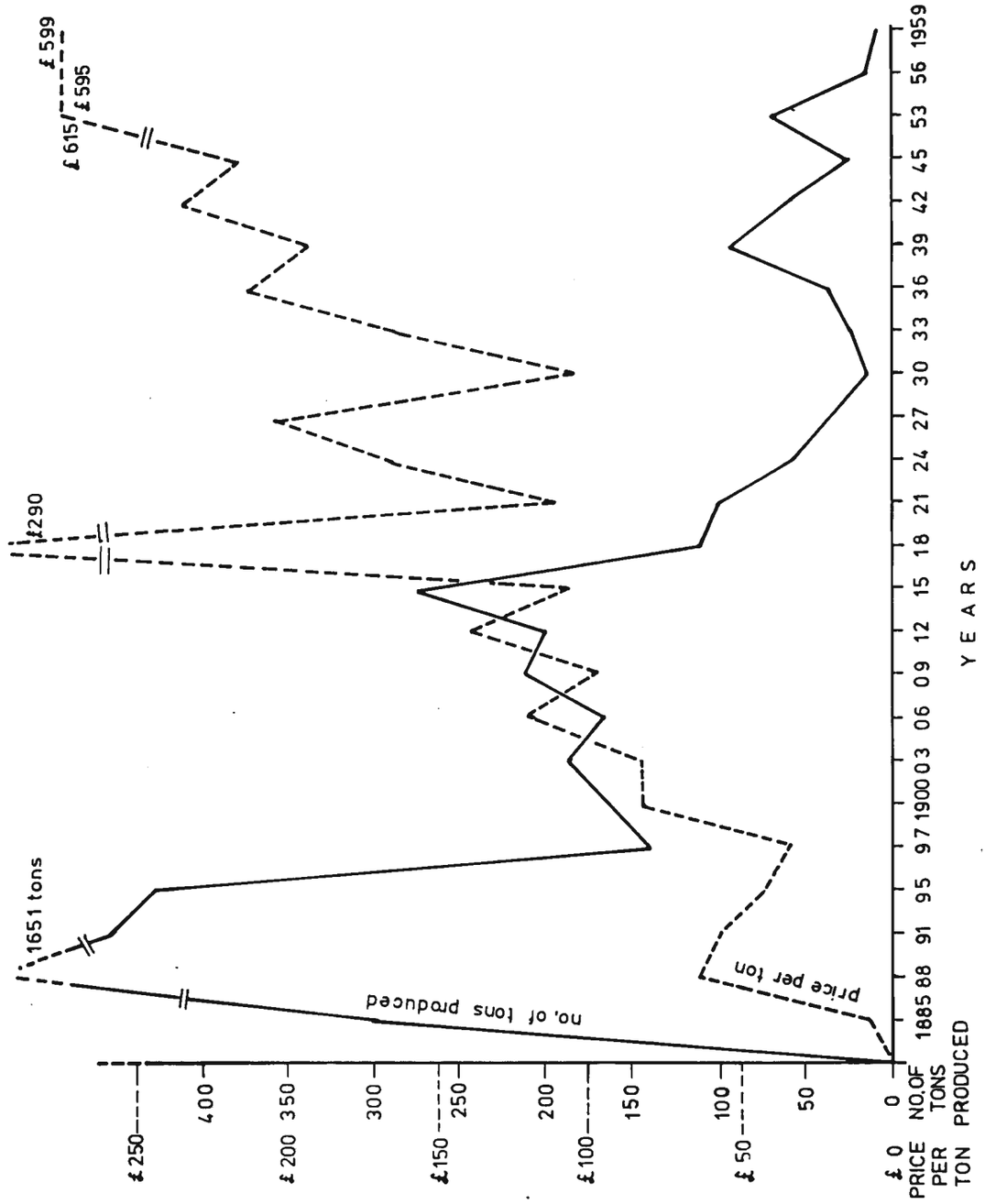

Figure 11 Tin Production and value, SECYP: 1885-1959. (Queensland Department of Mines Annual Reports)

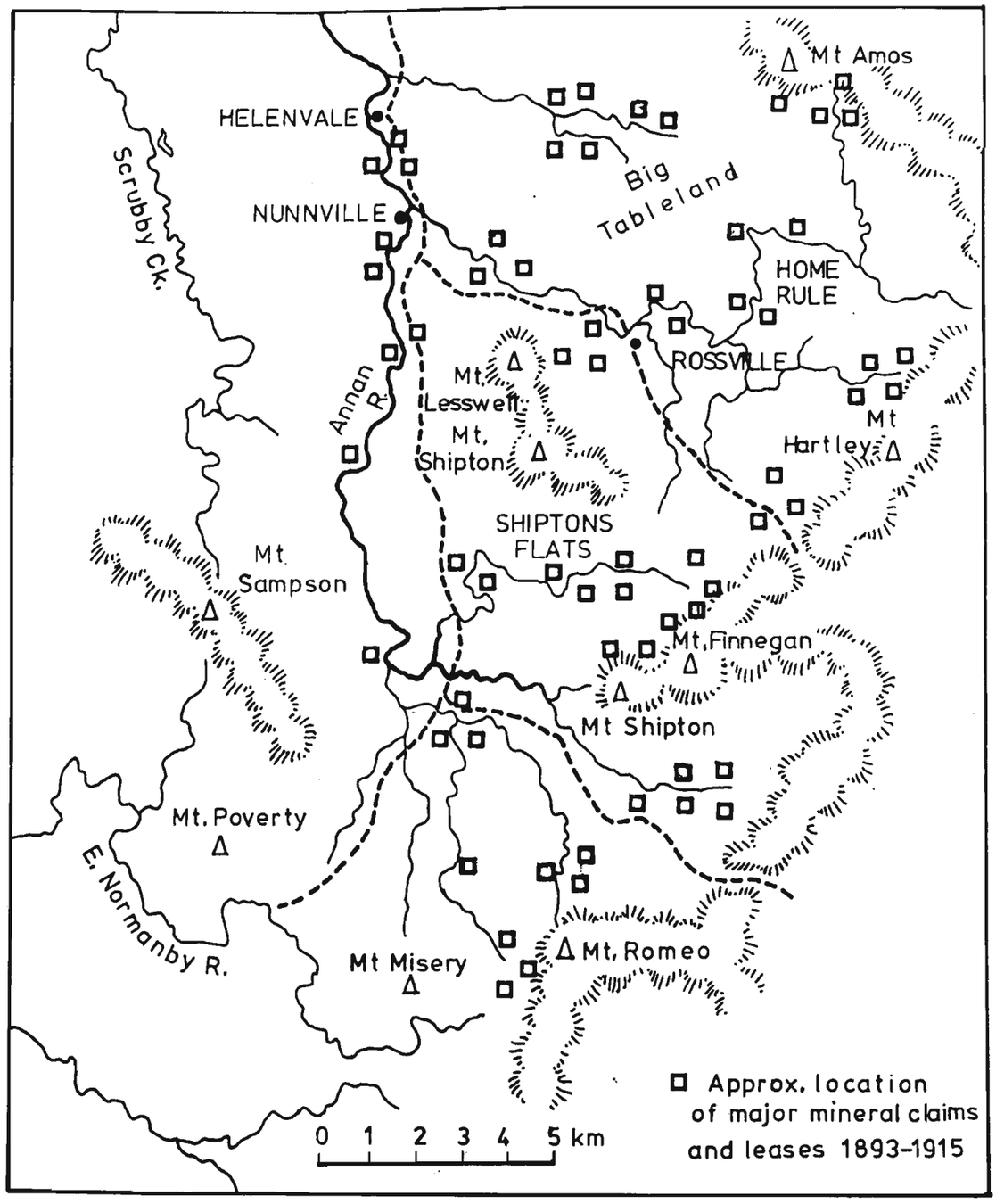

Figure 12 Location of major claims and mining areas in the Annan region. (Compiled from Queensland Mining Registers and Department of Mines Annual Reports)

TABLE 6

Alluvial tin* production by place, SECYP

Mine	Total Prod. tonnes	Years Worked	Aver.Prod. t/yr.	Continuity of Prod.
Rossville	1376	51	26.98	continuous 1904-1960
Mt. Amos	670	50	13.4	continuous 1904-1960
Helenvale	15.5	10	1.6	1904-1913
Mt. Romeo	716.35	49	14.6	continuous to 1945
Shipton's Flat	378	38	9.9	continuous 1909-1945
Home Rule	95	14	6.8	continuous to 1916
Tableland	385	50	7.7	continuous 1904-1959
Mt. Leswell	32	24	1.33	non-continuous
Mt. Hartley	131	23	5.7	non-continuous
Grasstree	144	32	4.5	continuous 1906-1917 1920-1928 1931-1940
Mt. Poverty	229	27	8.5	continuous 1934-1951
Collingwood	19	9	2.1	non-continuous
Finnegan	58	26	2.2	almost continuous 1904-1932
Jubilee	32	7	4.56	1950's only
Little Tableland	7.4	11	.67	1926-1936
Annan River (dredging)	266	5	53.2	1911-1915
China Camp	230.5	33	6.98	1898-1931

* Some lode tin is included for Mt. Amos and Mt. Leswell figures

Source: Queensland Department of Mines Annual Reports

reinvesting some of their income in town businesses or in other mines.

In addition, there were a number of factors which discouraged large-scale company involvement in tin-mining on the SECYP fields. These included the fields' isolation and the high cost of transport, the lack of a pool of skilled labour, the distance from support industries and smelters, the poor quality of the lode deposits in the area, and the rugged, difficult country. Also, as R. Kerr (1979:2) notes, in the early stages especially, "these new [tin] fields were terrifyingly vulnerable to overseas price fluctuations and economic cycles". Following the initial production flurry with some southern capital investment coming in, the 1895 mini-depression brought about the failure of many larger-scale company operations. The only big company involvement on the Annan field following this was the Annan River Company which worked the Rossville and Mt. Leswell areas, but it ceased operations by 1915. In the Bloomfield area, the only big company was the Lode Hill Tin Mining Company, which worked at China Camp for several years before World War One. The London Mining Journal of 23 January, 1915 reported that "Tin-mining is a very scattered industry, and it is supported by no large financial interests such as play an active part in copper, spelter [zinc] and lead" (quoted in Saint-Smith 1916:174-5). Due to the lack of the latter mineral in SECYP, there was no attraction along these lines either for outside capital.

Mining on the SECYP tin-fields thus tended to be done by very small groups of miners who worked the same areas for long periods of time. This led in turn to small support settlements arising at central locations near the high-producing (but continuous) claims - Rossville, Romeo and Shipton's Flat mainly. The Cooktown Mining Warden, writing in 1908, stated that the Annan and Bloomfield fields contained:

> some of the most prosperous and healthy mining settlements it has been my lot to see anywhere in Queensland . . . One has only to pass through the settlements to see evidence of the prosperity and contentment of the miners. They are also in most cases the owners of the mines they are working (Queensland Department of Mines Annual Report 1908:48).

These descriptions are startlingly different from those of the scurvy-ridden destitution of the north Queensland gold-fields (see Bell 1982).

The form which tin-mining took in general in SECYP stood in stark contrast to the frenzied, fly-by-night mining which occurred, for example, on the Palmer and Wenlock gold fields elsewhere in Cape York Peninsula. This difference was of vital importance to the Aboriginal inhabitants of this area.

V.4.5 Miners and tin-miners.

In the recent history of north Queensland, miners generally have had a bad reputation. Much of the violence and conflict between Europeans and Aborigines which occurred during the Palmer gold rush was attributed to the nature of mining and of the miners themselves. In fact, the traditional notion of a gold rush conjures up visions of greed, frenzy and ruthlessness. Particularly in its alluvial stage, the Palmer attracted thousands of men without capital or experience: men who came with the sole thought of getting wealthy very quickly. Kirkman (1978:130-1) quotes P.F. Sellheim, Palmer Mining Warden in 1875, as asserting "that the Palmer miners were of the worst character in the colony", and a "criminal class". Their extreme mobility, transience and lack of commitment to an area are also mentioned. Warden Sellheim (cited in Kirkman 1980:118) noted: "If the Northern miner has one besetting sin, . . . it is his readiness at a moment's notice to sacrifice his all, if required, to enable him to hurry off to the scene of some new discovery - good or bad, authenticated or not" (see also Reynolds 1981:154; Loos 1974:167; Cowell 1974:79).

Apart from the character of the individual miners, there was also the form which the mining centres themselves took. The towns on the Palmer and elsewhere in CYP were little more than "ephemeral canvas camps" (Kirkman 1980:119), and there was "little financial investment in the permanent manifestations of settlement". Loos (1974:164) comments on the effects on Aborigines of:

> the ephemeral nature of most of the centres of population. A mining camp or town could grow overnight and become a ghost town almost as quickly. In most areas there was not enough time to break Aboriginal resistance or for Aborigines to resign themselves to the presence of miners. Indeed, by 1880, when the period of major rushes was over,

> Aborigines had not been let in on the goldfields. It was left to the pastoralists and more permanent residents of reefing towns to reach an accommodation with them. (Emphasis added).

The descriptions of gold-miners and mining above are at odds with those of tin-mining from further east in SECYP. Descriptions of life in the latter area towards the end of the nineteenth century make sharp distinctions between tin-miners and gold-miners. Lock (1956:274) cites such a dichotomy in a description of life in post-Palmer rush Cooktown given by Mrs. J. Thornton. Mrs. Thornton was asked what were her earliest memories of Cooktown. She replied:

> The 'flannel men'. They were tin miners and we called them 'flannel men' because they wore dungarees and flannels, different from the New Guinea gold miners and some from Ebagoolah [a goldfield near Coen in central CYP], who frequently passed through Cooktown. Many of them [the gold miners] were flash, and paid a lot of attention to the clothes they wore. They would come down from New Guinea or Ebagoolah, and they would go on a spree. We liked the 'flannel men'. Their word was their bond. They were all honest men and when they pledged friendship they were always staunch . . They were a race of people all to themselves; big-hearted, and straight as a die.

Richard Semon, a naturalist who visited the Annan area in 1892 was also impressed with the hard-working, persistent nature of the tin-miners there. He also noted their tendency to remain for long periods working the same claims. He described the miners as "simple, but honest and sober men" (1899:269). Idriess (1980 [1959]:passim) also supports this view.

An important point here is that there is no evidence that ex-Palmer miners were on the tin-fields in any numbers. By the early 1880s, many of the Palmer miners had left CYP for the gold strikes in southeastern Papua New Guinea (see Nelson 1976). By 1890, most of the remaining European miners on the Palmer had moved to other goldfields in north Queensland. Further, most of the non-Chinese Palmer miners were of

British birth and had already been on other Australian or the Californian goldfields (see Bell 1982). Many of the names of the earliest tin-miners suggest non-British European birth (e.g. Claussen, von Bremmer, Spargo, Feinn, Olufson, Olson, Osmundson, Sikkema). Given that many of these arrived in Cooktown directly from Europe, they would have had no prior experience of Aborigines nor of Australian methods of dealing with them.

The more isolated tin-mining camps in SECYP which had brief or irregular periods of production and which had no permanent support facilities (stores, blacksmiths, etc.) were much more like the gold-mining camps of the Palmer. A good example is Scrub Camp (or Main Camp as it is now called), a tin-mining site about 10 km south of Bloomfield on a high tableland covered in rainforest. There was often trouble between miners at this site, and they were apparently much more transitory due to the sporadic production (see Idriess 1980 [1959]:179; Farwell 1965:148). Such situations contrasted sharply with the stability, lawful and orderly life at the major camps. Idriess (1980 [1959]:84, 238) describes the dance nights and importance of family life at Shipton's Flat, Rossville, Helenvale and China Camp communities. There were also permanent schools at both Rossville and Shipton's Flat. Table 7 shows that most of the women and children (and men with non-mining jobs) were at the sites of the major mines. The children of miners tended to stay in the district, and they often took over their fathers' mine operations. In general, many families appeared to stay in this area and become identified with particular sites. Of the 52 family or individual miner surnames mentioned in a 1920 list,[2] 19 are mentioned by Idriess as being in the area in 1912, and 23 are mentioned on miners' rights registers for 1887-1893. Fourteen of them had (non-Aboriginal) descendants still living in the area in 1977. One of the most well-known hotels in the area had only four owners between 1886 and 1977, and two of these were related.

In summary, the tin-mining intervention complex entailed small-scale mining processes without great capital or technology needs. The tin was of high quality and the SECYP field had a good steady output for over forty years after first discovery in 1885. The miners themselves

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2. Flour distributed by Clerk of Petty Sessions, Cooktown. February 1919 - February 1920. CPS 13E/9(G) Q.S.A.

TABLE 7

Non-Aboriginal population by place, SECYP: 1911 and 1914

	Miners	Carters, etc.	Merchants, etc.	Women & children	Total
1911					
Rossville	62	14	6	62	144
Mt. Amos	17	0	0	8	25
Mt. Hartley	22	0	0	2	24
Mt. Romeo	25	0	0	11	36
Grasstree & Shipton's Flat	38	0	1	44	83
1914					
Rossville	79	24	42	74	219
Mt. Amos	32	3	4	35	74
Mt. Hartley	13	0	0	5	18
Mt. Romeo	20	4	2	13	39
Grasstree	10	4	0	21	34
Shipton's Flat	46	5	0	43	94
Mt. Poverty	4	2	0	6	12
Tableland	8	0	0	2	10
China Camp	26	6	4	9	45

Source: Queensland Department of Mines Annual Reports

were mostly 'new chums' who lived with their families and who were committed to settling in the area. This produced clusters of Europeans of relatively small and constant numbers for the period of greatest mineral production.

V.5 The logging, agriculture and marine-based intervention complexes.

V.5.1 Logging.

Since the 1850s, Europeans in Queensland had always considered the state to have unlimited timber resources. On his exploratory trip into north Queensland in 1873, Dalrymple 'discovered' the vast lowland rainforests between the Herbert River and Daintree. After news of his trip, and following the establishment of Cooktown, timbergetters pushed south along the coast from there exploring river valleys for cedar prospects. Dan Hart, a Jamaican, led a group of Cooktown men into the Bloomfield in mid-1874. J. Kerr (1979:5) notes that Hart and his men:

> visited Weary Bay and went up Bauer Inlet, and three miles inland found rich soil and a little cedar. They retreated in the face of fierce opposition from the natives, and continued six miles south to the Bloomfield which they followed as far as the first falls. Some cedar was observed floating down, but they had to return to Cooktown for provisions.

Hart later that year discovered large stands of cedar some 30 km up the Daintree River. He did this with the aid of Aborigines he had befriended with presents. When his discovery was made public there was a rush of men from Cooktown and the Johnstone River areas to exploit the Upper Daintree and the Bailey's Creek region. This also produced an associated spill-over into the Bloomfield area. Frawley (1983:8) cites the Port Douglas Times of 6/7/1878 which states that between 1874 and 1878, 59 vessels had shipped out almost five million feet of cedar cut from the Daintree and Mossman valleys. Frawley considers this figure to be a "considerable understatement". Bolton (1972:77) notes that, between July and September 1874, one party of timbergetters felled 700,000 feet of cedar on the Mossman and Daintree Rivers. By the late

1870s, this entire area was nearly denuded of cedar.

While cedar was the species of prime interest, other timber was also sought: hickory, Moreton Bay ash, Kauri pine and silkwood among others. These species too almost disappeared from SECYP. Frawley (1983:7) describes how timbergetters often cut down any valuable tree they found, even if they could not remove it or if there was no market for it. This was the only way to claim a tree. The business was intensely competitive and was one based on short-term profit only. Because of the nature of the resource and the substantial profits to be made, timbergetters were a secretive, distrustful group. An early sawmiller, W. Pettigrew, remarked in 1864 that "as a rule timbergetters all hate one another" (cited in Frawley 1983). They worked in small groups of 2-3 men and their trips into the forest were often financed by southern capital with the men being paid on a royalty basis. The trees were cut, trimmed, pulled by bullock to the river and then rafted out to the river mouth where boats took the timber straight to N.S.W. and Victoria (see Le Souef 1894:11). The Queensland government was only marginally involved in the enterprise, and it received only a small license fee.

Contrary to their popular image as stalwart and true pioneers, the timbergetters in the Bloomfield area, at least, appear to have been men of rather dubious character. In 1893 the Cooktown Land Commissioner noted that the timbergetters at Bloomfield "do not bear very enviable reputation(s) for honesty . . ." (Challinor 1893), referring to several cases where the timbermen were found to be cutting timber illegally and fraudulently concealing it. W.E. Roth, Northern Protector of Aborigines, also referred to the timbergetters around Bloomfield as a "lot of blackguards" who bribed Aboriginal men with alcohol and abused the women (Roth 1899).

By the 1880s, the 'timber rush' in SECYP was over. The industry continued though, albeit in a slower, more steady fashion. A sawmill was set up at Ayton in 1891 with local (Bloomfield and Cooktown) capital. Some cedar was still obtained, but it was mainly Kauri pine and cabinet woods which were the main interest. Timber was cleaned up and half-milled at Ayton, then barged out. The later timbergetters were mostly local men who often had other interests in the area (e.g. small-scale tin-mining, agriculture). This pattern continued until after World War Two.

V.5.2 Sugar and other agriculture.

Although the exploitation of tin determined much of the European land usage in the Annan River area from 1886 on, it was the prospect of sugar production that brought about the opening up of the Bloomfield valley. The clearing and exploitation of this country for sugar was viewed as a logical and necessary extension of the wider development along the rest of the coast of tropical Queensland south of Cairns. The prosperous economic conditions of the early 1880s in Queensland brought southern capital and advanced technology into the rapidly expanding sugar industry of north Queensland. At Bloomfield this led to the establishment of a sugar plantation of several thousand acres with its own mill, 14 km of tramline for carrying crushed cane to the wharf, and a great deal of plantation infrastructure. The Vilele Plantation run by the Bloomfield River Sugar Company began harvesting in 1884. However, their mill, financed by Victorian capital had a crushing capacity of 2,000 tons, and only ran at a quarter to a half capacity. A world slump in sugar prices occurred in 1883-84 and the high expenses of transport bankrupted the company in 1886. It was then taken over by the Weary Bay Sugar Company. In 1888, the firm employed 30 Europeans, 110 Chinese and 132 Javanese and Malays (J. Kerr 1979:21-25). Poor crushes in 1888 and 1889, labour problems and continuing high expenses associated with transport led to liquidation in 1890 and the total abandonment of sugar growing on the Bloomfield.

The attraction of land for sugar production had opened the Daintree valley to the south in 1877. Here, hundreds of blocks of about 40 - 80 ha were gazetted on both sides of the Daintree to a point about 10 km south of Mt. McDowall. Both leasehold and freehold blocks of similar size were declared on the coastal flats in a strip to Noah Creek and Bailey Point and on the lowland area in from Cape Tribulation. In the Bloomfield valley, from 1882 five blocks of about 700 ha each and 24 blocks of each about 60 ha covered the entire coastal lowland area in the hinterland of Weary Bay and all the land on both sides of the river up as far as the Bloomfield falls. Two town reserves and several camping reserves brought the total of alienated land here to about 6,000 ha.[3]

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3. This figure does not include Aboriginal Reserves (see later).

While sugar provided the impetus for European movement into Bloomfield, other forms of agriculture proved to be more enduring, if not much more profitable. Both at Wyalla Plains, on the south bank of the Bloomfield River, and at the Granite Creek junction (see Figure 5), attempts were made to grow coffee, rice, tobacco and tropical fruits. None of these proved successful on a sustained basis because of the recurrent problems associated with obtaining cheap foreign labour and, as well, the distance from markets. From 1890 on, European settlement in the Bloomfield area depended mainly on providing meat and other produce for tin miners in the area. Some of the small farms exist to this day, and in one case, the same family has owned and operated the same farm for 75 years. Ayton, the small town which grew up near the mouth of the Bloomfield River, also served as a base for the timber-getters and for the various boat crews which called in.

Agriculture played a minor but important part in the European effort to 'tame' the Bloomfield. The ideology behind that of the industry had many of the hallmarks of the other pioneering developments, and as Frawley (1983:23) notes:

> The yeoman farmer ideal persisted strongly in Queensland even though for decades the colony fought an uphill battle to establish a viable agricultural base. The sale of land was an important source of government revenue, and a major problem for Queensland in the first few decades was a shortage of people willing to take up available land. Large scale land opening for closer settlement was a product of political and social goals which ignored economic and environmental conditions.

The difference, though, between agriculture and some of the other European activities in SECYP was that the former created the basis for a permanent commitment to the area by Europeans and for sustained (if small) economic viability.

V.5.3 The marine-based industries.

Both Hann (1873:1039) and Dalrymple (1874:636-637) referred to evidence for beche-de-mer fishermen working in the Cooktown coastal area

before 1873. This was to be expected as the exploitation of this reef-dwelling sea slug, which was popular with the Chinese, began in the South Pacific as early as the 1840s. Beche-de-mer fishermen were working in Torres Strait by the early 1860s. In addition, by 1868, Thursday Island, at the tip of CYP was the home port for and centre of a large pearl shell trade. However, there are no records of pre-1880 visits to the Bloomfield coastline. The Hope Islands 16 km off the coast from Rattlesnake Point, were used as a beche-de-mer drying station at least as early as 1880 (see Le Souef 1897:21). From 1900 until World War One, Ayton was the base for several lugger boats. Until World War Two, boats regularly called into Bloomfield for water, food and labour. The period of greatest activity in the marine-based industries was from 1880 to 1910. During this time over 4,100 tons of shell were exported from north Queensland with an average of 263 vessels engaged per year (Saville-Kent 1890). Loos (1982:122) gives a good description of the processes involved:

> The beche-de-mer industry was carried on chiefly by small luggers of five or six tons which made daily voyages from the curing station to nearby reefs, or by a fleet of luggers which stayed in the vicinity of the reefs while one or more conveyed the catch to the curing station and brought back supplies. A few large schooners or ships of from twenty to fifty tons carried small boats and were fitted out as mother ships to cure the catch.
>
> The beche-de-mer were collected by wading or diving from the reefs during the low spring tides. Immediately upon their arrival at the curing stations, the beche-de-mer were boiled in large iron cauldrons for twenty minutes, slit longitudinally, gutted, and dried in the sun. They were then placed for twenty-four hours in the smoke house which was generally made of corrugated iron with two or three tiers of wire netting upon which the beche-de-mer were laid. Finally, the dried smoked product was packed and despatched to the nearest market.

The profitability of this industry wholly depended upon cheap labour (Douglas 1890). This labour was mainly supplied by Aborigines

and Torres Strait Islanders, and the terms of employment were generally less than favourable. I will discuss this point further in Chapter VIII. Once again, as with gold-mining and the timber industry, the nature of the beche-de-mer industry, its relatively easy profits and the consequently cut-throat competition, attracted men of unenviable reputations. As one Police Magistrate noted in 1877: "There are of course among these men some of excellent character and integrity of purpose; but there are others of whom to say that they are about as bad a lot as sail out of any port on the earth, is not to say too much" (Chester 1877). The Police Commissioner, W.E. Parry-Okeden, agreed, claiming that the beche-de-mer industry was 'dirty' but profitable, and attracted the "lowest form of whites and 'Manilla-men'" (1896:35). While these personal traits of the men involved in the beche-de-mer industry were undoubtedly a factor in the nature of the latter's intervention into Aboriginal life in SECYP, they were more probably effects than causes. The nature of the enterprise itself, the overall ideological climate of rugged individualism, the ineffective regulation and supervision by the government and the isolated areas in which the boats worked, all led to the entrepreneurial excesses for which the boat captains and crews were well known.

V.6 The Lutheran Church and its mission.

In the previous sections I have discussed the major European industries in SECYP, noting that each constituted a complex of individuals, resource and labour needs, environmental effects and ideological aspects. I have said little of their relations with Aborigines in this area. This is partly because it is important to understand the nature of these complexes independently of their relationships with and effects on Aborigines. However, it is also because the goals of these industries in SECYP did not directly involve Aborigines. I will examine how their presence did affect Aborigines in several case studies in the following three chapters. The next two intervention complexes I describe are the Lutheran Church and the Queensland Government. The aim of both of these in SECYP was explicitly interventionist with respect to Aborigines, and so I here examine both their internal workings and rationales, and their relationship with Aborigines.

V.6.1 Background.

As Hebart (1938:186) noted: "From the beginning the Australian Lutheran Church was a 'mission-minded' church." Missionaries associated with the first German settlers in South Australia worked with Aborigines around Adelaide in the early 1800s, and several major missions were established in Central Australia during that century (Hebart 1938; Brauer 1956). In Queensland there were also a number of mission ventures. A Berlin-based mission group sponsored a mission at Nundah near Brisbane in the 1840s, and later at Beenleigh, south of Brisbane (Theile 1938). The German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland ran a mission at Marie Yamba south of Townsville from 1887 to 1900 (K. Evans 1972). In 1885, Missionary J. Flierl, on his way to the then German colony of New Guinea, stopped over in Cooktown. He decided that there was a great need for a mission presence in the area, and he convinced the government to allow his group, the Neuendettelsau Mission Society of Bavaria, to take control of a reserve at Elim, near Cape Bedford north of Cooktown. This mission, under Pastor G.H. Schwarz, was later renamed Hope Vale, and it is the oldest surviving mission in north Queensland (see Haviland and Haviland 1980; Rose 1978; Terwiel-Powell 1975).

V.6.2 The Bloomfield River Mission: Outline of events.

In 1885, Flierl convinced the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Synod of South Australia under Pastor J.G. Rechner, to take responsibility for the Aborigines south of Cooktown. The following year they agreed to establish a mission at Bloomfield River on a reserve of 260 ha located on the north bank of the Bloomfield from the Granite Creek junction up to the Bloomfield falls (Q.G.G. II, 1886:651). Until the first missionaries could arrive, a local farmer at Bloomfield, Mr. Louis Bauer, was appointed by the government as superintendent of the Bloomfield River Mission Station. In the first half of 1887, an average of 89 Aborigines camped at the mission and worked there in return for rations. In September, Missionary Carl Meyer and Johannes Pingilina, a Dieri man from Central Australia, arrived at Bloomfield to take over from Bauer. Together with several Europeans (mostly German Lutheran labourers), they embarked on a building programme for the mission and

intensified the efforts to achieve agricultural success for the mission. However, in 1890 Meyer was dismissed after being accused of accepting bribes from a beche-de-mer captain to recruit Aboriginal men from the mission to work on luggers (see K. Evans 1972:29). He was replaced by Missionary Sebastian Hoerlein. Hoerlein was assisted over the next decade by several other missionaries, but they either remained for only short periods of time or else were found unsuitable for various reasons. Hoerlein continued the mission programme of attempting to attract Aborigines to the mission for training and Christianizing, and during his time the number of Aborigines at the mission fluctuated between 30 and 120. By 1900, the death of his wife, his own ill health, continuing financial difficulties of the mission and government dissatisfaction with the mission's results led Hoerlein to resign and the mission to be finally abandoned in 1902.

V.6.3 Aims and policy of the Lutheran mission.

The Lutheran Church's stated aim in the mission venture at Bloomfield was "not only . . . to civilize the Aborigines, but also to teach them the word of God and to make them acquainted with the Rules put down by the same" (Meyer 1889a). They were committed to "earnestly ask God, that we will still give many of them a breath of life, so that the light of Grace rises to them, before it is eternally dimmed" (Meyer 1887b). More simply the missionaries wanted to raise Bloomfield Aborigines from their level of 'degradation', "so that they may turn from their former wickedness and confess the living Lord" (Meyer 1889c). These aims coincided with the missionaries' views of Aborigines generally and of aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture in particular. In line with the general European view, they had low opinions of the Aborigines and their way of life. In hundreds of pages of mission correspondence and reports, there are few favourable comments about Aborigines. Negative ones, however, are frequent. Meyer, in 1889, reported that he was making slow progress in spiritual teaching, but that "these poor folk are showing signs of grasping their significance. And that's no small matter among people as decadent as these" (Meyer 1889a). Hoerlein (1889a) described the Bloomfield Aborigines for the church magazine as "apathetic, insusceptible, defiant and lazy". Most aspects of traditional Aboriginal culture were seen as emanating from the Devil.

The presumed inherent nomadic character of the Aborigines was constantly criticised - and not merely in practical terms. The missionaries argued that 'walkabout' was "morally wrong" (see Pfalzer 1887). Beliefs about spirits following death also came in for missionary criticism (see Meyer 1889a).

In the end, the missionaries felt they had little hope of success in converting the Bloomfield people, or at least not the adults. Meyer reported to Rechner in 1890: "It is painful and disappointing to be continually revealing the gospel message and find it meeting deaf ears everywhere" (Meyer 1890a). This despair was consoled by the general belief shared by the missionaries that Aborigines and their culture were doomed anyway. Missionary Flierl, on inspecting Bloomfield for the Mission Committee, stated: "All the mission can really achieve for them is a kind of Christian burial service" (Flierl 1898). But they did, however, hold out some hope for the children and a great emphasis was placed on schooling to transform the "children of Darkness to the children of Light". Parents were encouraged to leave the children at the mission dormitory for this purpose.

The church's spiritual aims had necessary pragmatic corollaries. Firstly, the missionaries had to centralize Aborigines from the entire Bloomfield area at the mission by encouraging a settled life. (See Plate I). The mission used mission ration issues from 1888 on to induce Aborigines to settle there (Meyer 1889b). It is certain that success in the task of centralization weighed heavily on the missionaries. Their correspondence is full of despairing remarks about the Bloomfield Aborigines' propensity to roam, regardless of the rations (see Meyer 1890b; and Steicke 1889a). Secondly, there was a desire for the mission station to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible, in accord with government aims as well as Christian principles. The Lutheran Church was keen to see its Bloomfield mission as an economically viable, self-supporting, even profitable venture.[4] Meyer's first visit to Bloomfield in 1886 produced glowing reports on the station's viability. He felt that the land was an ideal mission reserve and that it would produce enough food supplies and support enough cattle to maintain itself more

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4. This was not only true of Bloomfield. The Synod's missions at Bethesda - where Meyer had been in the 1870s - and the Finke River Mission, both in central Australia, had similar aims (see Hebart 1938).

Plate I Missionary Hoerlein and Kuku-Yalanji mission residents, Bloomfield River, 1890s. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs H. Jones)

Plate II Working on the mission farm, Bloomfield River, 1890s. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs H. Jones)

than adequately. The Lutheran Almanac (1966:41), in an article on his trip states: "Meyer's impression was that Bloomfield could be a much more valuable area than Elim [the Lutheran mission north of Cooktown]. He . . . felt that Bloomfield could become much more independent than Elim, as there would be sufficient sugar cane, bananas, pineapples, sweet potatoes, even rice, grown in this area."

The basis of the mission's self-sufficiency was to be Aboriginal labour (see Plate II), but the missionaries' attitudes towards Aborigines and work was contradictory. On the one hand, they seemed to recognize that Aborigines could work well when they chose, but on the other, they believed that an important mission purpose was to train the Aborigines to work. After Meyer's first visit to Bloomfield he noted: "All work except the house building has been done by aborigines. They seem to work very well" (Meyer 1886). A mission labourer had a more cynical view:

> We have really more than enough farm work to do. Of course, in theory labour is available, if only the blacks were willing to do a worthwhile job. The few who do come to work are really only interested in food . . . but when they feel like it (which is only rarely the case), they really set to with a will, there's no denying that. But it lasts only for a short while. Afterwards they are all the lazier. Of course, it won't do to judge the heathens too harshly. One has to allow for the fact that they have been used to let their time go idly by. But we have to train them to work, for idleness is the root of all mischief (Koch 1889).

The Lutherans instituted standard European work routines. The work day would begin at 8 a.m., "but they are apt to be late" (Meyer 1887c). The group of Aborigines present was divided into work teams, each of which was led by a European. The men did the heavier, clearing-type work and the women the planting and weeding jobs. At 11:30 they would break for lunch and the Aborigines were given their food rations: usually a lump of bread dough each which they would bake in the ashes, and sometimes they were given rice. At 2 p.m. work would again resume until 5:30 when they were issued with potatoes, enough for the evening meal and breakfast (Meyer 1887c). At one stage, Meyer requested that a

bell be sent up with which he could summon the Aborigines for work: "Their camps are at times so far from here that I have to fire a shot to call them: not really a suitable method" (Meyer 1887c).

Whatever the missionaries' opinion of Aboriginal labour, they were certainly dependent on it. The mission had no farm machinery whatsoever and no draught animals; at its peak it had about twelve hectares of land that, after clearing, needed hoeing, planting, weeding and watering. In addition, crops had to be harvested, carried and stored. With such a great need for steady labour, the missionaries became exasperated by the Aboriginal refusal to keep to the farm's seasonal cycle:

> If only [the Aborigines] would stay, then we could plant lots of corn. As it is we haven't finished half the planting yet, because we had very few blacks (Steicke 1889a).
>
> The absence of so many of our black workers greatly retards our progress. Try as we may, we can't get ahead the way we should and would like to. Right now, I would like to see a large number of blacks here, to get the land ready for the next sowing season (Meyer 1889a).

It was not just that the Lutherans wanted to have the mission keep itself in food, they wanted it to actually make a profit. There were strong attempts to get cash crops going (see Rechner 1890). A constant problem was that the Aborigines kept pilfering the bananas intended for the Cooktown and Cairns markets (see Roth 1898a). But they did manage to sell wax and honey to Burns Philp for a time (Hoerlein n.d.a.). There is some evidence too that the Lutheran Mission committee wanted Bloomfield to develop its agricultural potential to the full so that it could provide produce for Elim Mission (see Roth 1902:472). In any case, after a visit to Bloomfield in 1898, Roth observed that the Bloomfield Mission "is not being worked for the amelioration of the blacks, [but] is run rather on commercial than on philanthropic lines . .." (Roth 1898d:6). The last word was from a disillusioned Missionary Hoerlein: "The English [settlers at Bloomfield] are quite right when they claim this is a work colony and not a mission" (Hoerlein 1891a).

V.6.4 The missionaries at Bloomfield.

The basis of the missionary endeavour at Bloomfield was to conquer a recalcitrant nature which included both Aborigines and the environment.

The environment of SECYP presented the missionaries with great difficulties. Firstly, there was the problem of the poor quality of the land available to the mission, and secondly, the missionaries had unrealistic expectations and lacked experience and knowledge of the difficult north Queensland environment. The reserve land at Bloomfield included some of the densest, rockiest, most inaccessible land in the valley. The missionaries always saw agriculture as the key to the success of the mission; it would provide employment for the Aborigines and would make the mission both self-sufficient and profitable. For this reason, many mission reports contained detailed lists of how many acres had been cleared and how many had been planted. The missionaries themselves had almost all come from farming backgrounds, and they carried with them mistaken assumptions about soil fertility in this new area. Of all the land in the Bloomfield valley, the reserve land was the least suited to agriculture; there was little flat land, apart from that which flooded each year, and soil on the reserve land, once cleared of trees, was very poor. Archibald Meston, on an inspection visit to Bloomfield in 1895 described the land cultivated by the mission as:

> some of the worst scrub soil in the district. It was probably chosen by someone acting under the delusion that all scrubs cover rich agricultural land. The choice was the more unfortunate in face of the fact that there was plenty of excellent soil available in the surrounding country ... The Bloomfield is just one of those districts where a mission station could, and should, easily produce its own food supplies. But there was the usual want of qualified judgment in selecting a site, and so there has been much wasted labour and heavy expenditure with very little result (Meston 1896:1207).

In addition to the problems of the environment, the missionaries had to deal with four distinct groups of people: Aborigines, local

Europeans, the Lutheran church administration in South Australia and Queensland government officials and police.

The missionaries' views on Aborigines must have undoubtedly made dealings difficult. Their assumption of superiority (and even pity or concern for the Aboriginal condition) was translated into paternalism and fatalism. Their negative attitudes left little room for appreciating any aspect of Aboriginal culture, even those which might have aided the missionary endeavour. Communication had its difficulties also. Meyer's first report in 1887 stated that no English was spoken by the Aborigines at Bloomfield, but in 1891 he was still reporting to the Mission Committee that the devotionals were held in German or in English. He refused to have Kuku-Yalanji language used in the school (Meyer 1889b) and reported to the Missions Congregation that:

> It is . . . not possible to learn the language really quickly, particularly when there aren't any forms of aid available. Every single word has to be discovered by the learner himself, and no one who has tried this can imagine how difficult it is. Because one can't always make the blacks grasp just what it is one wants to know, one tends to get rather strange and quite inapplicable replies . . . (Meyer 1888b).

This is in some contrast to Cape Bedford, the Lutheran Church's other mission in CYP, and to those in Central Australia. There the Lutherans had active language learning programmes and taught in the local languages. The despair in this futile attempt at civilising the heathen is evident in Hoerlein's communication in 1900, at the end of the mission's days. He had "been [at Bloomfield] for 10 years, but [has] not come to trust or understand the Aborigines" (Hoerlein 1900a).

Aborigines were not the only human element missionaries had to deal with. The European settlers also presented difficulties. Two major factors led to bad relations from the beginning. There was jealousy and resentment against the mission on the part of other Europeans at Bloomfield because of the mission's 'locking up' of land and resources (e.g. timber). Secondly, there was competition for Aboriginal labour. I will discuss both of these in the final section of this chapter. Other more minor but obvious things also made relations difficult. The

missionaries were insular and suspicious of anyone not German. Hoerlein claimed that "the English [at Bloomfield] dislike the German mission" (Hoerlein 1891b) and he wrote to Rechner that he was aghast at the prospect of Schulz, a mission teacher, marrying "an English girl" (1891c). But they had to depend on the settlers for many of the necessary supplies and services, and the mission was constantly in debt with a bad credit reputation amongst local whites. Cooktown merchants on several occasions refused to honour Meyer's mission cheques (see Meyer 1891b).

Another element the missionaries had to cope with was with their South Australian administration, the Mission Committee of the Immanuel Synod, which had to be consulted on even the most minor decisions. Quick action was impossible on any matter as the mail could take several frustrating months.

Given the many and diverse pressures on the missionaries, it is not surprising that they constantly bickered and feuded amongst themselves (see Mack 1890; Meyer 1890b). Both Meyer and Hoerlein ended their mission days broken and disillusioned. Meyer became a recluse and an alcoholic, and he was forced to leave the mission in disgrace. In 1902, his wife dead and the mission failed, Hoerlein left Bloomfield physically ill, depressed and bitter.

V.7 The state.

The state, in the form of the Queensland government, like the Lutheran Church, played a direct role as an intervention complex with respect to Aborigines. From the 1880s on, the government, its laws and administrators impinged (or attempted to impinge) on Aboriginal lives in SECYP wherever possible. The form and process of state intervention stemmed from the dual nature of its role in north Queensland. On the one hand, it expounded and actively encouraged economic development in the frontier areas. On the other, it provisioned the public welfare services. I have discussed the former in general terms in V.2. Welfare included education, health, and communication services for the European population, as well as police, courts and so on. The government had also developed, soon after Europeans came into SECYP, a framework for dealing with Aboriginal welfare. These two aspects of the government's role, development and public welfare, were often in contradiction.

In this section, I examine the state intervention complex in light of the dual nature of its role in SECYP. The only way the government could balance the competing forces arising from this situation was by the centralization and control of Aborigines. I will examine briefly the government's aims and ideals in this respect, and then look at how these were implemented.

In the late nineteenth century the government's aim was to solve the 'Aboriginal problem'. This included several dimensions:
(i) the increasingly obvious health problems of Aborigines as a group (much of it stemming from introduced diseases);
(ii) the exploitation and abuse of Aborigines by some Europeans, especially on the boats;
(iii) the accumulation of dispossessed Aborigines around the towns;
(iv) miscegenation.
Throughout the nineteenth century there had been no systematic attempt by the government to deal with these issues. In the early stages pioneer violence against Aborigines was often backed up by the government-supported Native Police. However, this was one of the few explicitly interventionist government actions. By and large the government assumed that Aborigines would merely die out and thus 'solve' their own problem. As I discussed in V.2, there were indications of a change towards a more actively interventionist approach by the government from the 1870s on. This stemmed partly from the pressures exerted by groups within European society aware of the moral implications of the situation (see Loos 1982:180-181). This pressure was largely successful because of the concern over Queensland's image, particularly in Great Britain. (see Anderson 1981:58).

From the beginnings of its intervention, the government based its plans to solve Aboriginal problems on comprehensive and firm government control. Administration of aid to them for their many physical ills and needs could be more easily done in central settlements where they could be guided towards a more 'useful' way of life. But the underlying rationale for this apparently humanitarian aspect was a pragmatic one tied to the needs of development. As Meston, one of the government's major advisors on Aboriginal policy, noted:

> At no period of human history has sentimentalism been conspicuous in the affairs of Governments, nor, does it enter largely into State affairs of the present time. All Government expenditure is determined by practical utilitarian calculation. It is guided solely by the necessities and the results (Meston 1896:1212).

Thus land was to be set aside and Aborigines centralised there to establish settlements where they would be trained in order to fulfill a useful role in society. In the meantime, they also would be removed from land which was needed, kept away from the abuses of European society until they were thought to be ready to handle them, and Europeans would be saved from the threat of miscegenation. Good reserve land was to be the basis of a system which would enable the government to "employ the aboriginals at useful and productive work" (Meston 1896:1214). The Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines in 1910 summarised well the intent of government policy:

> I am strongly of the opinion that the only hope that can reasonably be entertained, either of the gradual elevation of so abject a portion of the human family as the aborigines of our State in the scale of humanity, or even of their continued existence in contact with European civilisation, depends on their being brought under the care and control of the Government, by setting apart areas of reasonably fertile land and placing an officer in charge, whose duty it would be to educate these people in the way of simple agriculture, and thus enable them to provide for their own wants, in the way of food, etc. and undoubtedly make them an asset instead of an incubus on the community (Q.P.P. 1910;III:6).

V.7.1 Policy implementation.

As I noted earlier, the government declared a small reserve for Aborgines at Bloomfield in 1886. In 1889 a 'Hunting Ground Reserve' of 13,000 ha was gazetted (Q.G.G. I;1889:824). Whatever the government's intentions, usage of this land as an actual hunting reserve was never considered by the missionaries. Even before the official gazetting,

missionary Meyer wrote: "This land has an abundance of feed and water and would do very well as pasture" (Meyer 1889c). He later complained that at least 10,000 ha of the reserve was "useless scrub" (Meyer 1894). In 1892 the two reserves were subsequently cancelled and amalgamated into one reserve of 6,500 ha (Q.G.G. II;1892:654).

The mission was also provided with some finance from the government. In the first year, the government funded about £1500 for the establishment of the mission station's building and running costs. From then on until 1900, the government's yearly subsidy varied between £120 and £250. Monetary support also came from the South Australian Lutherans. Total funding for the mission during this period amounted to almost £10,000 (Roth 1902), making Bloomfield one of the most heavily supported missions in Queensland.

With land and money provided to the mission, the government expected its policy ideals to be realized by the Bloomfield administrators. The government's firm expectation was that with centralization would come control over Aborigines by the missionaries. The failure of the mission to achieve this was the subject of a great deal of government criticism. Meston (1896:1208) noted: "The missionaries have no power to enforce control over the blacks, even those attending school, and so at the time of my visit all the boys [i.e. Aboriginal men] were away in the ranges, or scattered about among the tin miners." Later, Roth's comments in a similar vein resulted in the mission having its subsidy withdrawn in 1900. He noted:

> There is a leakage somewhere, that after 11 years expenditure there is so little to show, that the control of any blacks is conspicuous by its absence, that while the children learn Christianity and its doctrines by day, they can learn every conceivable vice by night, [and] that there are practically no blacks permanently residing [at the Bloomfield Mission]. [The Bloomfield Aborigines] come and go - just as they . . . please. The mission people have no control over them, and herein lies the secret of what I would call their non-success (Roth 1898a:6).

The missionaries were not the only ones in whom the government vested control of Aborigines. Prior to 1897, all matters relating to Aborigines in SECYP were in the hands of the local police, who ultimately reported to the Police Commissioner and the Colonial Secretary. The police were in charge of the distribution of rations, blankets and other goods periodically given to Aborigines. With the Aborigines Protection Act of 1897, the police were made into formal protectors of Aborigines in many areas.[5] These protectors were then responsible to the Northern Protector of Aborigines based in Cooktown.

The Aborigines Protection Act was the basis for and embodiment of government interventionist policy throughout the first half of this century. The act defined the subjects of its powers (i.e. who was an Aborigine), divided the state into districts each under the control of a Protector, and reserves under the control of superintendents, allowed the Home Secretary to order the removal of any Aboriginal or 'half-caste' person from one area to another, controlled Aboriginal employment and entry onto the reserves by other than authorised persons. The actual administration of these provisions was done through the act's regulations. These regulations included defining the duties of the Protectors and superintendents, prescribing modes of distributing monies and rations, and the rules by which everyday life on the settlements was governed. Although minor amendments were made to the act and new versions of it appeared, the basic thrust of the legislation dealing with Aborigines remained the same in Queensland until 1965. It was always based on the three main notions of centralization and segregation, control through protection, and training in European values and practices.

V.8 The government and the other intervention complexes.

There were three main issues involving Aborigines which brought about interaction between the government and the other intervention complexes in SECYP. These issues were the question of land for Aborigines, Aboriginal labour and sexual relations between European men and Aboriginal women.

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5. See Appendix A of Annual Report of Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899, Q.J.L.C. 1900:LI: pt. 2.

The notion of reserving land for Aborigines brought a number of intervention complexes into conflict in SECYP. When reserves were first mooted, the Europeans around the town of Ayton on the Bloomfield River petitioned the Minister for Lands not to gazette such reserves anywhere in SECYP. They argued that the land would be needed for homesteads.[6] As we have seen, the government did gazette reserves, but not before making sure that the land involved was not needed immediately for development purposes. In particular, they wanted to be certain that there was no tin on the reserve land (see Hartley 1887).

After the reserves were gazetted, settlers involved in the timber, grazing and agricultural industries in SECYP protested vigorously to the government for a number of years - enlisting, in addition, the aid of commercial interests in Cooktown. These Europeans argued against the reserves on the grounds that all the land and resources at Bloomfield were vital if the area was to develop. They further maintained that Aborigines did not, in any case, use the land set aside for them. Another petition was sent to the Lands Minister and it demonstrates well the philosophy of the Europeans about land in SECYP. The petition, sent through the Secretary of the Cooktown Chamber of Commerce, argued that the government should not:

> . . . too hastily [set aside] lands for Aboriginal reserves which may be required for the purposes of material development, which the advance of the colony is constantly interfering with, and which in themselves are not the best which could be set aside for the purpose. My chamber desires me to point out with all due submission, that it is scarcely logical to stop the development of a district by locking up some of its richest natural resources, as far as the white man is concerned, while they are freely vested in the blacks to whom they are of no use whatever. The position is an intolerable one, and an injustice to the capitalist who has invested capital in the latest machinery for the purpose of

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6. Petition of settlers of Ayton and Bloomfield River to Minister for Lands, November 1885. Queensland Lands Department File 1886-69.

converting this latent wealth into actual money.[7]

The gazettal of the hunting reserve, which also vested powers in the missionaries to control entry to it, was ignored by timbergetters who continued to remove timber from the reserve for at least two years. The mission protested strongly to the government, partly because they wished to use some of the timber for their own building programme, but mainly because they had an almost hysterical fear of other Europeans who they thought would have an adverse influence on Aborigines by being on the reserve. The timber incident - in which the mission was successful in the end (probably because the government did not think highly of the timbergetters, but also because their presence jeopardised the government's segregation plans) - created bad feelings towards the mission amongst many local Europeans. The timber interests argued that the industry could provide employment for ten years or more if it were allowed to operate without any hindrances (see Challinor 1893; Chester 1892). In spite of strong protests from the missionaries and the Lutheran Church in South Australia, the government agreed in the end to reduce the reserve area only three years after its gazettal.

The use of Aboriginal labour in SECYP was another area where intervention complexes intersected. With the rapid expansion of European interests from the 1880s and with a great deal of white labour involved in gold-mining, labour for agricultural and domestic purposes was in short supply (Fitzgerald 1982:186). By the mid 1880s, some Aboriginal labour was being used on the Wyalla Plains sugar plantations (see J. Kerr 1979:23) and the beche-de-mer industry was wholly dependent on cheap Aboriginal labour which the coastal Bloomfield groups, like other Cape York Peninsula Aborigines, provided (see Roth 1898). The tin-miners and their ancillary service industries in the Annan and China Camp areas also utilised Aborigines for a variety of jobs (see Chapter VI). Many European households in SECYP used Aboriginal men and women for domestic chores such as wood-chopping, carrying water, gardening, cooking and cleaning. Roth even complained at one stage that some Europeans were suffering from unemployment due to such extensive use of Aboriginal labour (see Roth 1903b).

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7. Secretary, Cooktown Chamber of Commerce to Lands Minister 14/7/1891. #14917 Queensland Lands Department File 1886-69.

The European settlers at Bloomfield thus opposed reserves there because they would offer Aborigines "the temptation for evading employment provided for them " (see footnote 6). In addition, given that the success of the mission at Bloomfield depended not only on keeping Aborigines there, but also on their continued labour, it is not surprising that the missionaries resented other Europeans in the area using those whom they saw as their Aborigines. Missionary Meyer complained that "Our difficulty is with the settlers in this area, who feel no friendship for us . . . [who] cast aspersions on our work and try to draw the blacks away from here. They have at times been successful" (Meyer 1890a).

Partly due to the abuses against Aborigines by the boat operators, the Aborigines Protection Act incorporated strict and extensive provisions governing Aboriginal employment. Permits had to be obtained from the protector or the police at Cooktown. These permits were for a set period (usually 6-12 months), and the workers' wages were paid to the protector, with some pocket money occasionally given to certain 'responsible' Aborigines. This system further centralized control of Aborigines in the hands of the government and its instrumentalities. Its efficacy at preventing Aboriginal exploitation depended on the diligence of individual protectors. The first Northern Protector of Aborigines, W.E. Roth, made many enemies among the Europeans of SECYP by his attempts to secure more reasonable employment conditions for Aborigines. This animosity led to accusations against him made in Parliament and to his subsequent resignation from government service in 1906. (Q.J.L.C. 1904:879-880).

Following the introduction of the 1897 legislation, the government began systematically to remove control of Aborigines from settlers. Pastoral properties and farms in SECYP were phased out as distributing centres for rations and blankets. Meston recommended in 1896 that: "Whenever and wherever possible, for more than one reason, all food distribution should be under the supervision of the police" (Meston 1896:1211). A major part of this move was the government's fear of miscegenation and its plan for segregation of Aborigines. Meston himself was a most vehement opponent of sexual relations between persons of different races. He stated that he held "in utter abhorrence these marriages ... Unions between whites and aboriginal women, are unfair to the women and degrading to the man ..." (Meston 1901). The products of

such unions - 'half-castes' - were seen as threats to the moral and physical integrity of European society as a whole. And Meston argued that: "The absolute isolation of the aboriginal women from contacts with whites is the only effective method of stopping all further supplies of half-castes and their attendant quadroons and octoroons among whom the law of atavism will assert itself in after years with unpleasant results" (Meston 1900). The 1897 Act gave power to the Minister, on recommendation from the police or the local Protector, "to cause aboriginals within any district to be removed to and kept within the limits of any reserve situated in the same or any other district" (Sec. 9). Fines of £5 to £10 (several months average wages) were also levied against non-Aboriginal men convicted of living with or even permitting Aboriginal women to come into their houses without a permit. Enforced removal of groups of Aborigines, especially those around towns, onto reserves removed the 'moral threat' of Aboriginal women and the affront of 'half-caste' children (see R. Evans 1975:121).

In summary, the government acted at the intersections of the other intervention complexes when the latter involved Aborigines. Its response was not merely as an intermediary, but also as an interventionist force itself.

V.9 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have described the nature of the major European intervention complexes associated with capitalist expansion in SECYP from the late 1870s until after World War Two. Table 8 presents a schematic summary of this description including specific aspects of each intervention complex and also some of their non-local, more macro-level forces.

I have also discussed several more diffuse and general factors which underlay the various intervention complexes. These included the overall structure of the economy, both of the world and of Australia and Queensland. The latter's economy particularly was characterised from 1859 on by rapid bursts of economic growth interspersed with prolonged periods of stagnation. Another related general factor was government action and policy based on an ideology of unbridled economic growth as being natural and irresistible. This view saw government provision of services and maintenance of public welfare as being subservient to the

TABLE 8

Elements of Intervention Complexes; South-east Cape York Peninsula: 1874-1957

	TIN-MINING	LOGGING	AGRICULTURE	MARINE INDUSTRIES	LUTHERAN MISSION	GOVT.ADMIN. & POLICE
TIME (Level of activity)	1886-1895 (high production levels) 1896-1915 (medium, steady production) 1916-1945 (very low production) 1946-1950s (minimal).	1874-1880 (intense production) 1881-1950s (very low production)	1882-1890 (high production - sugar) 1891-1945 (low production - market gardens) 1945-1950s (minimal).	ca 1875-1910 (intense production) 1911-1945 (intermittent) 1945-1950s (minimal).	1885-1902 (continual presence - most active period early 1890s).	1880-mid 1890s (visits) 1897-1903 (Police Station/Ayton; Roth visits) 1903-1957 (police visits).
AIM	Tin mined. Sold in Cooktown.	Timber: primarily cedar and other veneer woods. Partially milled, then barged south.	a) sugar: grown, crushed then barged south b) tropical fruit, vegetables: mainly for tin-miners and subsistence.	a) beche-de-mer: gathered on reef, dried, sold at Cooktown for export b) pearlshell: gathered on reef, sold in Cooktown for export.	To convert Aborigines to Christianity, provide for their welfare, centralise and control them.	To keep the law; regulate and tax some commercial activity. Control of land. Supervise Aborigines. Mediate between Aborigines & other interventions
ANCILLARY EFFECTS	Permanent settlement of miners and families, especially in Annan area. Secondary settlement: hotels, blacksmiths, shops. Agric. & grazing dependent on tin.	Very little. Two small mills.	a) some permanent settlement at Wyalla and Ayton. Crushing mill and tram. b) Permanent settlement by families in Bloomfield Valley	No permanent settlement. Ayton provided some supplies to boats (mostly based in Cooktown).	Only Mission itself with handful of Europeans. Most stayed less than 5 years.	No permanent settlement. Police based in Cooktown except station, Ayton ca 1892-1902.
ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS	Streams and rivers disturbed. Introduced animals. Major European settlements in Kuku-Yalanji camp areas. Timber utilised	Southeast Cape York Peninsular denuded of some species. Some tracks made.	All riverine flats occupied. Woodland areas cleared. Introduced plants.	Negligible	Clearing for agriculture and cattle at Mission site.	Nil directly.
EUROPEAN INDIVIDUALS	Large numbers. Mostly permanent. Owner-operators.	Small numbers. Itinerant.	Moderate numbers. "Yeoman farmer" ideal. Family people. Permanent.	Small numbers. Most not based in Southeast Cape York Peninsula.	ca 12 missionaries and assistants. Main ones: Meyer and Hoerlein.	Small numbers of key figures. Protectors and police. Native police until ca 1900.
NON-LOCAL, MACRO FORCES	World market for tin. Prices fluctuated considerably. Local capital mainly. Govt. control through mining wardens.	Demand for cedar in Sydney and Melbourne. Mostly outside capital with royalties paid to operators. Very little Govt. control.	Govt. controlled survey, gazettal and release of land. Sugar production controlled by speculative capital from Victoria. Other agric. locally funded & land worked by owners.	Boats owned by operators. Labour hired in course of production. Export market and price fluctuation.	Local Mission tightly controlled by U.E.C.C.A. in Adelaide and by Govt.	Local administrators and police subject to Brisbane officials.

promotion of (or at least the non-hindering of) economic development. Thus with respect to Aborigines, it was the rationality of the latter which ultimately determined the course of its policy in that sphere. Aiding this was the generalized view of Aborigines held by most European Australians which ranged from being actively negative to indifferent or benignly negative. Following the 1897 legislation dealing with Aborigines in Queensland, government policy consisted of reserving land for Aborigines, collecting them on it and having missions or government administrators exert control and influence over them in order to render them useful to European society.

The forces of economic development were destined to win out over any welfare concerns in the end, as it was only the former which produced needed government revenue. Their dominance in any case, was basic to government philosophy and to the social system of which the government was a part. The duality of the government's role as protector of Aboriginal interest (and of the average European) and its inability to undertake any course of action which hindered economic development is a key point to emerge from this analysis.

Other points which emerge from a comparison of the intervention complexes which operated in SECYP include:

(i) The contrast between the permanency of residence associated with some complexes as opposed to the itinerancy of others. The latter was also associated with the desire for a quick profit and the ruthless exploitation of resources;

(ii) The tension between macro- and micro-level or local structures and their differential impacts depending on the intervention complex (i.e. some complexes were more susceptible to outside forces);

(iii) The aim of the intervention complex and its internal structures and processes largely determined the type of Europeans involved in it;

(iv) The overwhelmingly export-based nature of the economy of SECYP promoted a 'boom/bust' pattern of grossly uneven development.

The patterns which I have described in this chapter were maintained in similar form more or less from the first arrival of Europeans until well after World War Two. The dynamic interaction of these intervention complexes with the structures I outlined in Chapters III and IV constituted significant forces in the social field of contact which I describe in the next three chapters.

Chapter VI: The Annan River camps: The Kuku-Nyungkul nation and tin-mining, 1886-1940.

VI.1 Introduction.

The next three chapters treat Kuku-Yalanji relationships with European interventions from about 1885 to the mid 1950s. By examining several extended case studies I describe and attempt to explain the patterns of articulation which developed in the area during this time. The patterns included new relations between Aborigines and Europeans, and also amongst different Aborigines. In the present chapter I examine the Kuku-Nyungkul-speaking groups of the upper Annan River and their interactions with tin-mining. Chapters VII and VIII deal with Bloomfield groups and other European interventions. The case studies demonstrate that Kuku-Yalanji people, from at least 1885 on, were actively seizing upon the potentialities of the European presence and adapting to and solving the problems also created by it. These responses were not merely reactions predetermined by the nature of European forces - the intervention complexes - but rather were also ones brought about by internal Aboriginal economic, social and cultural factors. The effects of European activity and the courses of action taken by Aboriginal people in SECYP in response to Europeans had unforeseen consequences, some of which were negative and which led to the ultimate subordination of the Aboriginal mode of production. Yet, overall the period up until at least World War One was one in which we see maintenance of central elements of Kuku-Yalanji political economy and culture.

As I described in Chapter III, Kuku-Nyungkul-speaking people occupied the upper portions of the drainage basin of the Annan River. In the early 1880s there were about 250 Annan people (called Kuku-Nyungkul in this chapter) living on the seven major creek systems which make up the river. Tin-mining brought about the first sustained and significant contact with Europeans which Kuku-Nyungkul people had had. The rugged mountainous sources of the Annan became by 1889 the 'Annan River tin-field'. Most of the tin-mining here occurred on the Annan's tributary creeks. In fact, the bounds of Kuku-Nyungkul country correspond almost precisely with the Annan valley and its granitic-based tin field. The Bloomfield and Normanby watersheds which were associated

with different Kuku-Yalanji groups are characterised by slates, schists and sandstones. As we saw in Chapter V, tin-mining brought a great many Europeans into the Annan district and settlement activity was intensive.

VI.2 Conflict in southeast Cape York Peninsula.

Before looking at this first case study I need to discuss the role which violence played in the early relations between Europeans and Aborigines in SECYP. I examine this first in the Annan area, then in the Bloomfield.

In many parts of Australia, a common Aboriginal response to the European presence was one of violent resistance. Similarly, European methods of dealing with Aborigines were often violent. Undoubtedly, incidents of physical confrontation did occur in the Annan region. William Hann, the first European to traverse the area in 1872, camped "between Wallaby Creek and Baird's Creek. There they viewed something of the nature of a war-dance by natives on a hill, but the 'demonstration' was not followed up by any hostile action" (Jack 1922:400 and see Hann 1873:734). Hann and his group also saw Aborigines on several other occasions before going over into the Bloomfield valley, but no confrontations occurred. Following Hann, the beginnings of European settlement did not occur until the late 1870s at the earliest. Only with the discovery of tin in 1885 did sustained European settlement begin. As far as can be determined, there are no recorded incidents of violent encounter between Europeans and Aborigines for this early period. I will demonstrate in this chapter that this was because of the satisfactory social and residential arrangements which Aborigines and Europeans entered into soon after the first Europeans arrived. It was also due to the early economic participation of Aborigines in European activities. It is worth reiterating here that it was a local Kuku-Nyungkul man who, in the company of his European employer, discovered tin at Mt. Romeo in 1885. Further, this Aboriginal man, only several years after first contact, had a half share in a large mineral claim there.[1]

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1. Cooktown Mining Warden Claims Register, Mineral Claims Book No. 2. Re-entries for 'old claims'. Nos. 1A-90; 27/1/1886 - 22/7/1887. Q.S.A.

Oral accounts suggest that violent encounters came later and occurred at the hands of both European and Native police. These comments from Kuku-Nyungkul persons born shortly after the turn of the century demonstrate this:

> That old man Alecky, he been little boy. He reckon he run away from policeman. Buliman ['police'] been chase him. White police. That little fella been going up the hill and he met the Sergeant with a gun. He look: "Oh, small boy. Don't kill him. Let him go." He let him go then. He kill a big one [person] though. Very bad, eh? Well, that's what he been do before. Like in America. In your country. He want to get that bubu ['country']. (Harry Turner)

> My uncle been tell me: "Buliman didn't shoot me. But he shoot old people, jalbul-jalbul ['women']." When I been little fella too, buliman still been chasin'em. Can't sit down la bayan ['in camp'] . . . Buliman come [and says]: "Oh, you gotta go . . . Take'a blanket." Very rough times. Buliman no more been friend before. He been come here from Cooktown on yarraman ['horse']. I don't know what he want'a do it for. Make'em bama quiet might be. (John Walker)

Overall, violent conflict between Europeans and Aborigines was relatively rare on the Annan, consisting mainly of isolated incidents and police actions. It was not a defining feature of the relationship between settlers and Kuku-Nyungkul.

In the Bloomfield region the situation was similar to that on the Annan. There are very few concrete reports of actual violent encounters between Europeans and Aborigines at Bloomfield. William Hann, in 1872, had a number of minor confrontations with Aborigines here (see Hann 1873:755,757), but on the whole his dealings were quite amicable. Aborigines near the headwaters of the Bloomfield offered presents of food to Hann's Aboriginal guide (from Cardwell), and offered Hann directions through their country - indicating, for instance, good places to camp and easier paths to travel.

On the other hand, as I mentioned in V.5.1, Dan Hart the first timbergetter into the Bloomfield region, had a less than friendly encounter with Aborigines. This was the first recorded case of conflict between Aborigines and Europeans in this area, although there is no mention of injury or death on either side (see J. Kerr 1979:5). Loos (1982:221) cites the first recorded deaths of Europeans in the area. On 15 November 1877, Thomas Hanley, a timbergetter and two other Europeans with him were speared by Aborigines "17-18 miles up the Daintree River." Loos also mentions that there were several deaths of 'boatmen' along the coast between Cooktown and Cairns but he gives no details. The Lutheran Almanac (1966:42) notes that Meyer, the first missionary to Bloomfield, reported that on his first visit to the area in 1886, he was told of the recent deaths by spearing there of two Chinamen, but once again no primary sources are given. Lock (1956:293-4) records the story which a local Bloomfield European related to him of a massacre of Aborigines by Europeans somewhere between Bloomfield and Daintree, but there is no other evidence of this.

There is documentation of some of the apparent conflict associated with the setting up of the mission station. A telegram from the Cooktown Police Magistrate to the Under Colonial Secretary on 2 February 1887, reported that:

> About 200 natives attacked the aboriginal station, Bloomfield River on Monday evening 31 January. Hackett [a mission labourer] escaped with his wife and family and the other white man to the police camp at Ayton. The natives did not attempt to injure them but threatened their lives if they remained. Senior Constable Talbot with Hackett and some miners left Ayton early on Tuesday morning for the station to save the property if possible.[2]

A subsequent letter to the Cooktown Police Magistrate by the mission station manager, Bauer, was considerably less dramatic, stating merely that the Aborigines "had threatened to spear Mr. Hackett, a mission labourer, and any Native Police who dared venture onto their country" (Bauer 1887a). Mention of the Native Police is significant as

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2. Col/A488. Q.S.A.

it appears that much of the violence against Aborigines at Bloomfield in the first 25 years or so of European settlement involved the the Native Police or, later, Aborigines working with the police. I have recorded two incidents in which Kuku-Yalanji people were killed by the police around the turn of the century. In one, a cave up Thompson Creek valley which had been used as a hiding place from police was discovered through the assistance of an Aboriginal man from one of the other Bloomfield camps and at least one person was killed as a result. In the second incident, an elderly crippled woman was thrown alive onto a fire at a camp near Watermelon Creek when she refused to reveal the whereabouts of the rest of the camp who had scattered into the bush just before the arrival of the police. Both of these incidents brought about sorcery retribution directed at the Aboriginal assistants which continues on into the present. Also, incidents such as these did nothing to foster good relations between Kuku-Yalanji and the police in general. As one Kuku-Yalanji man, Bob Yerrie, noted: "Buliman ['police'] no more been jawun ['friend'] before. Kill'em bama ['Kuku-Yalanji people'] you know. Now all right. Law comin' on."

The evidence overall is that violent conflict between Europeans and Aborigines at Bloomfield was minimal, especially after the initial exploratory and settlement phase was over. Mr. O. Olufson Senior, whose father-in-law was the first European settler at Bloomfield, when asked if there was "trouble with the natives" at Bloomfield in the early days remarked:

> No, they were always peaceable people. The river blacks were never known to molest white people. The savage ones, supposed to be cannibals, were found in the interior out from Cooktown towards the Palmer gold diggings. I had nothing but respect for our natives (cited in Lock 1956:305).

The outcome of the violence which did occur has already been noted for Europeans. The results of overt violence against Aborigines, however, are also remarked upon by a number of sources. Missionary Meyer in 1886 noted in a letter published in the Lutheran Church magazine:

> The blacks have not been difficult here. They are quite happy to have us here as long as we do not mistreat them. We have three blacks here: one has an eye missing as a result of a gunshot, another has a bullet in his knee, and the third has his big toe shot off. I do not know what else has happened, but this shows how they have been mishandled here. Some of them no doubt deserved it, but there is no question that some have suffered innocently (Meyer 1887d).

Nonetheless, Meyer himself asked his Mission Board in South Australia for a "good rear-loading gun and ammunition" as he felt he "must be armed, even if it is merely to let the blacks know there is a weapon" (Meyer 1887e). Ellis Rowan too, visiting Bloomfield in 1892, remarked on "a fine-looking [Aboriginal] man [who] had two bullets in his body, which, however, did not seem to inconvenience him" (Rowan 1912:115).

These wounds are always assumed to have been caused by Europeans, yet it is very possible that they were the result of intra-Aboriginal conflict. Idriess noted that some Aborigines were given guns to hunt on behalf of European tin-miners at China Camp just before World War One (see Chapter VIII). He also said:

> It is dangerous indeed to trust an aboriginal with firearms, for he is feverishly 'trigger happy': It is not so much that he might turn a rifle against a white man, as that he might seek to even up old scores against a tribal enemy, for they bitterly nurse their hatreds and feuds . . . (Idriess 1980 [1959]:212).

VI.3 Environmental and economic impact.

I look next at the environmental impact of tin-mining and its related activities and their effects on the Kuku-Nyungkul resource base and subsistence repertoire.

VI.3.1 Physical impact of tin-mining.

The most significant environmental effect of tin-mining must have been the damage it caused to the creeks and streamsides, the focus of

Kuku-Nyungkul living for most of the year. Natural stream courses were drastically altered and muddied through the need for continuous water supplies, the uses water was put to and the locations of many of the alluvial deposits. Whole creeks were re-routed into dams and sluices, and stream waterholes were destroyed. For stream-dependent Aborigines, this meant that regularly used campsites disappeared. Spear-fishing and diving for eel fish and tortoises were impossible much of the time, and there was often no clear water for drinking, cooking or bathing.

Another major effect of tin-mining was the disturbance, if not outright destruction of 'story' places or totemic sites. Almost all the important sites in the region are associated with waterholes or waterfalls. The waterholes were often wholly destroyed because of creek bank mining and re-channelling. Tin-miners used the waterfalls to generate power on a small scale, blasted fluming courses into the rock faces of the falls, and in one case used a major Kuku-Nyungkul site as a swimming pool and recreation area. The disturbances which tin-mining brought to these sites could possibly also have had some kind of political impact. Because the sites were foci of power for old men, the flouting of site entry restrictions and site disturbance by Europeans may have had important effects - given that part of the maintenance of <u>bingabinga</u> domination was their control of access to these sites.

The changes wrought by mining in the overall Annan landscape must have been considerable. Literally tens of thousands of tonnes of earth and ground cover were shifted or removed and washed away. Whole hillsides collapsed and sections of surrounding forests disappeared. Photographs of claims in the area show hectares of muddy, rocky, eroded, bare land (see Plate III). An enormous amount of timber was cut for the races, fluming and sluice boxes and the area is now denuded of the species of trees used in mine-related construction work. Firewood had to be brought in by packers and it was soon prohibited by law for Aborigines to cut down certain species of tree (e.g. ironbark and box wood) for shelter construction and for other purposes. Saint-Smith (1916:170) reports a conflict of usage on the Annan with respect to timber, especially "that extraordinarily hard timber well named 'ironwood', . . . [which] is much in demand by the Aboriginals for the manufacture of their womerahs and other implements . . ." John Walker, who grew up on the Annan, related the following story which demonstrates

Plate III Effects of alluvial tin-mining, Annan River area, 1907. (Photograph courtesy of Queensland Department of Mines)

this conflict over timber. The 'ranger' from the sawmill at Shipton's Flat stopped his grandfather (called 'Walker') from cutting bark from a tree.

> That ranger been say: 'Hey, Walker, what you want'a cut that one for? That's timber.' [i.e., wood valuable to Europeans]. Ngaji ['MF'] say: 'What for?' [Ranger:] 'No allow! Gotta summons you.' [Walker:] 'Can't. This one Aboriginal iron. You can't stop'em. This one bama iron. For bayan ['house']. [If] you stop me now, well, you'll have to talk to government. Tell'em send me iron.Save me cuttin' bark.

Other degradations of the landscape were brought on by tin-mining's ancillary services. These effects included the creation of roads, fencing, clearing of forests, but most of all, the introduction of exotic animal species. It is said that the wet season staple, magpie geese eggs from Kings Plains, had virtually disappeared by the 1920s and that this was due to horses and cattle destroying the grasses they used as nesting places on the lakes and lagoons. Pigs too, while providing a new food source, must have competed heavily with Aborigines and small indigenous mammals for tubers and other ground-growing food-plants.

VI.3.2 New resources, tools and economic activities.

With such major environmental effects, tin-mining and its ancillary industries inevitably altered the way Kuku-Nyungkul people made a living. I look now at the resources and other material items introduced into the area by miners in which Aborigines were interested and also at the new sorts of economic activities in which Aborigines engaged.

Resources which originated from within the Europeans economy and to which Kuku-Nyungkul people were almost instantly attracted were of two sorts: food and related substances, and items which improved the efficiency of pre-contact-based technology. Tea, sugar, tobacco (and to a lesser extent, alcohol and opium) were major attractions very early on and people walked great distances to obtain them. Apart from its consumption value, tobacco had advantages for Aborigines as being an

easily traded, transportable, storable commodity. It was widely used as payment to Aborigines by Europeans as well as an item of exchange amongst Aborigines themselves. Apart from some shell items and certain tree resins, no equivalent item was traditionally available. It certainly became a form of ready currency from 1885 until at least World War One.

Flour and beef were two new food resources which were critical factors in Aborigines wanting to stay near Europeans. Preparation of traditional flour from the cycad and several other nuts was arduous and time-consuming and Kuku-Nyungkul women must have moved quickly at the opportunity to obtain ready-made, bulk quantities of Europeans flour. Kuku-Nyungkul people today claim that a taste preference for European flour was also important. Along with tea, flour made into damper became (and still is today) the cornerstone of every Aboriginal meal. Even more important than flour though was beef. Three of the major Kuku-Nyungkul camps between the two World Wars were sited near the slaughter-yards of butchers supplying the tin-miners, although they had existed in smaller form prior to the advent of the slaughter-yards. Aborigines were regularly given the offal and other parts of butchered cattle which were unwanted by Europeans. These slaughter-yards merely provided Kuku-Nyungkul people with a seemingly unlimited supply of a protein food which was highly valued, yet normally quite difficult to obtain, especially after the mining impact on the environment. The higher content of fat in European beef (a valued quality in Kuku-Nyungkul diet preferences) was also said by Kuku-Nyungkul to have been a significant factor in their desire to maintain steady supplies of beef.

The second set of items of interest to Kuku-Nyungkul consisted of those materials with which they were able to improve the efficiency of their own technology. Prime examples are, of course, steel axes and pieces of glass, and it is said that these were prized objects which were carefully looked after.[3] These made many subsistence chores far easier and quicker. Other tool substitutions included use of metal fish hooks and gut fishing lines, metal billy cans and water containers, wire for spear-points, and metal bars for digging sticks.

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3. Steel had already made its way into SECYP prior to the arrival of the first European land visitor, William Hann, in 1872 (see Hann 1873:755).

It is important to note here that it was not simply a matter of Aborigines having a choice with the new food and technological items. The European advent brought about certain irreversible changes in the Kuku-Nyungkul environment. Aborigines thus could not have maintained or returned to totally traditional subsistence patterns even if they had wanted to. I will argue also later that equally significant and irreversible changes were wrought because of the new social relations which Aborigines entered into as part of this period of articulation.

New economic activities in which Kuku-Nyungkul men participated covered a range of jobs. Categories of employment available in the non-mining sphere included: packer, gardener, yardboy, horse-boy, farm labourer, stockman, drover, stationhand, houseboy, messageboy, scrub-feller and 'general-useful'.[4] Aboriginal women were taken on for domestic duties. Mining jobs done by Aboriginal males included carrying timber for race construction, carrying pipes, charcoal collecting for forges and dryers, minding hoses, sluice-tending, general labourer (usually pick and shovel work) and the prize job - working the nozzle at the face when hydraulicing. Groups of Aborigines often were also the carriers when miners shifted camp. Kuku-Nyungkul men on a semi-formal contract basis sometimes hunted on behalf of the miners in the more remote locations, obtaining wallaby, pig and cassowary in exchange for tobacco, flour, tea and sugar (see Idriess 1980 [1959]:212).

The financial arrangements for all Aboriginal labour fell into two categories. The first was 'wages work' for which, after the introduction of the Aborigines Protection Act in 1897, a formal Aboriginal employment permit had to be obtained from Cooktown. But as stated earlier, wages for these jobs were never paid directly to Aboriginal workers. Men considered reliable were given pocket money and the rest of the wages were banked with the police or the Protector. Thirty-seven Annan River employment permits were issued for part of 1925, and only four men were given pocket money (generally 2/6 to 4/- per week).[5] Wages varied from 7/6 a week for minding horses, to 20/- per week for stockmen, and up to 40/- per week for skilled Aboriginal miners. Employers usually provided food, and supplementary items such

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4. These are all actual descriptions from the Aboriginal Employment Register for Cooktown in the Q.S.A.

5. Aboriginal Employment Register for Cooktown, Q.S.A.

as blankets and clothes were issued on order by police. According to Kuku-Nyungkul today, the police often made it difficult for Aborigines to draw money when they wanted it. A great deal of justification was required on the part of any Aborigine wishing to obtain money. Youngaman Yougie, a Kuku-Nyungkul man, provides a description of this time:

> Buliman ['police'] all'a time talk about Palm Island (Government penal settlement off Townsville), when bama [Aboriginal person] want'a get'a money. Growl'em about drink. If bama drink or do anything, buliman no more give'a money. Must be lot'a money somewhere! Bama work for nothing - only clothes and mayi. I don't know what buliman doin' with all that money!

A second category of work arrangement was that of the private or independent Aboriginal worker. Permits were not required for casual jobs (e.g. cutting firewood, cleaning yards and washing) which were arranged between individual Aborigines and employers. Legally Aborigines could not hold mining leases after 1897, but some Europeans let them work a portion of their leases and bought or traded from Aborigines the tin won from it. Other jobs like timber carrying, were done on a contract basis and no formal permit was used. Although this was illegal, the distance from Cooktown and the bad condition of the road ensured that there was little risk of prosecution. There was sometimes an interesting relationship between the independent contract arrangement and the work done by Aborigines for wages. Older Kuku-Nyungkul men have told me when they were working as wages men, they located several spots with good tin deposits, but did not tell their employers. Instead, they waited until they were working privately and then mined the tin for themselves.

Private contract and wagework usually resulted in steady access to European food resources. Yet these were always supplemented by bush food gained by hunting and gathering. European miners report regularly seeing the Aboriginal camps near the mines and settlements with plenty of 'bush tucker' - yams, cycad flour, wild honey, wallaby and pig, which was by then seen as a bush food item. Besides the effect of mining on availability of traditional bush foods, the partial switch to European

resources undoubtedly decreased the pressure on those bush foods. The two forces may have to some extent cancelled out each other's effects, thus ensuring the maintenance of a certain amount of traditional resources: new balances were established. The bush supplementation was especially necessary in the dry season when there was no tin-work. Kuku-Nyungkul people in the 1970s remarked that they saw this as a "hard time for tucker. We had to live on yams and pigs." Evidently they were very used to flour and beef by this stage. Similarly when the price of tin fell and production was slowed, dependence on bush resources was greatly increased maintaining the traditional knowledge base for these activities.

European opinion of Aboriginal labour on the tin-fields varied. Some complained of the need for constant supervision (cf. May 1983:38). Those Aborigines thought not to be in need of this supervision were the ones given the private or contract work. Europeans made the common complaint concerning the support of an Aboriginal worker's dependents. The author Ion Idriess, who was on the Annan and Bloomfield tin-fields for several years prior to the First World War, commented:

> To employ any of these lords of the wild who could be prevailed upon to drop their spears for a few days, don a pair of pants, and lend a hand at some urgent job, was to employ expensive labour: for such untrained toilers were slow on a job (stockwork is their long suit); they ate like draught-horses; and their family and all the friends they could 'ring in' had to be provided for. Being sensible men, they would not have worked at all but for the tea, sugar and tobacco they especially craved (Idriess 1980 [1959]:221).

Other local whites whom I have interviewed spoke highly of certain Aboriginal 'old-timers' who 'knew how to work' and needed little supervision. Idriess again:

> In due course Monty [a tin-miner at Rossville] 'press-ganged' an abo into his service - Tiger [a Bulbunwarra man living at Rossville]. A saturnine type of aboriginal, Tiger, would have made a prize cannibal a few years back. Strangely, though, he proved a consistent toiler. Tiger was

> one of those rare treasures occasionally found on a mining field, a full blooded aboriginal who was a born 'fossicker'. Tiger could locate alluvial tin, he could box and stream tin as well as an adept white man. Also he could work - and keep at it. His chocolate tinted muscles and whipcord sinews seemed tireless. Yet though a willing worker, his beetle brows would often corrugate surlily, as if he hated himself for liking this work that was so pleasing to the white man.
>
> 'A tiger he is and like a tiger he works!' Monty would boast. But Monty fed Tiger and his lubra well, and bought them plenty of that white man's luxury Capstan tobacco with packets of real 'white men' cigarette papers, never offering him the Nigger Twist that was the native (trade) tobacco of those days. [Monty] paid him well too, in actual coin of the realm, and on those hot days after strenuous toil, took him across to the pub, breasted the little bar side by side with him, and shouted his 'man Friday' a drink nearly as often as he bought one himself. He also fed Tiger in the kitchen at the pub ('I must keep his condition up! You've got to feed your working bullocks, you know.') and sent him contentedly back to camp each evening with tobacco, food and a couple of bottles of 'cheer' for himself and his wife. Tiger was a great and envied man at the native camp while 'tigering' for Monty. (Idriess 1980 [1959]:167-7).

The range of jobs and amount of work undertaken by Kuku-Nyungkul people were considerable. Below is an edited version of the work history of John Walker, a Kuku-Nyungkul man born around 1912:

> I been born Rossville. We shift to Shipton [Flat] when I been baby still. My father's country. I been reared up there. Frank Sykes and Jack Roberts [European tin-miners] father and mother there. Arthur Shipton. [ditto] My mother didn't work. Just sit down. That big bama [Aboriginal] camp below Roberts house. Ngayku nganjan ['my father'] [was] tin-miner there for old Shipton. My first job [was with]

Frank Sykes, butcher for meat. [This was when Walker was about 12 years old.] Sell for tin-miners. From there . . . keep go . . . till my walarr ['whiskers'] come. Argument then with Sykes. He give me hidin' for being cheeky. Ran away then. Work for Arthur Shipton for couple years. I been boy for him, drovin' cattle. Back to Sykes then. Had to sign on. Boss pay money to buliman ['police'], but no bank book. Me and boss work for tin then. Old man Friday [a Shiptons Flat Aboriginal man] worked too. Nyulu ['he'] bit older than me. Show him what to do. Had a spell then for awhile. Jimmy Waljinga take'a place.

Next time work for Arthur Griffiths, tin-mining [at] Jubilee. Few years. Back to Sykes then. Start get mukul ['old'] then. Married old lady Clara at Shipton Flat. Henry and Doreen born there. Then move to Rossville. Bob Yeatman first boss there. We work for tin. Finish when dry weather come. Next boss: Larry Silkyo at Four-Mile. Finn fella. Ngalin ['we two'] argument again. Tell him [he] give me too hard work. I been tell buliman: 'Bama can't be put on claim working when he don't get big wage. All right cuttin' wood, cleaning round'a yard, anything.'

I go Helenvale then, work for Georgie Watkin, give him hand for cattle and pack team up to Rossville, Tableland. One year. Stop Rossville in drytime, then back to Yeatman for tin in wet. Ngayu ['I'] had tin claim at Collingwood after. Twenty-five acre. Worked on Laura-Cooktown railway too, cuttin' ironwood sleepers for it. Ngayku manyar wulay ['my wife died'] then Rossville. Ruby Friday look after kids at Shipton camp. I been go up to Tableland for [tin] company. Mr. Morgan boss. After claim finish and company close, come down and work for Sikkema [a European butcher near Shiptons Flat] for a good while. The work for Watkins again clearing scrub there Helenvale. Finish then. Oh, I been work everywhere.

VI.4 Camps.

These new economic activities must be seen within the context of Kuku-Nyungkul residential patterns. It is in these also where the new social relations of production which came about during this period are most evident. We now turn to an examination of the new forms of local organisation and their social consequences.

If we reconstruct carefully the location and composition of Kuku-Nyungkul residential groupings in the Annan valley from about 1918 to 1940, a clear pattern emerges. The major camps in the upper Annan River region from about 1918 to 1940 are listed in Table 9 and shown on Figure 13.[6] Figure 13 shows that there was always at least one major camp of fifty or so people made up of some five to six smaller camps, associated with a particular type of tin operation: namely, those mines with high production (totals and averages) and continuity over a long period of time of production and ownership. Rossville, Mt. Romeo, Shipton's Flat and Mt. Amos are examples of such mines (see Table 6, Chapter V). These steady profitable mines meant permanence of support industries like slaughter-yards and butcher shops and higher concentrations of Europeans (see Table 7, Chapter V). These factors, in turn, meant that the areas met the needs of Aborigines with respect to the new resources. As we have seen, these included the new tools such as steel axes and the new foods along with tea, sugar and tobacco. There was also the prestige involved with using European goods. The wearing of clothes, for example, signalled ease of access to Europeans and their resources.

The camps shown on Figure 13 were major ones in several senses:
(i) they were permanent, although there was movement within a small area, usually up and down the focal creek;
(ii) they usually contained between 20 and 30 people. However, exact numbers are difficult to estimate with fluctuating levels over a 20 year period. However, Table 10 shows that the majority of Kuku-Nyungkul births occurred at these camps;
(iii)they are ones which have numerous burial sites nearby;

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6. Data on camps were obtained on mapping trips in the Annan area in the company of Kuku-Nyungkul persons who had lived in the camps. Some information was also obtained from interviews with Europeans who had lived near the same camps.

TABLE 9

Major Annan camps, and *majamaja*:1918-1940

Kuku-Nyungkul name	European name	Estate	Focal Aborigines	Patriclans of Focal Aborigines
(1)* *Kuna*	Shipton's Flat	*Kuna*	Bluja King Old Friday (Bluja's brother's son) Nyuji Shipton (Bluja's brother's son)	*Kunawarra*
(2) *Ngulung-kaban*	Rossville	*Ngulung-kaban*	Mandilba (Jimmy Rossville) Old Bamboo (brother of Mandilba)	*Ngulungkaban-warra*
(3) *Marray-marray*	Wallaby Creek	*Ngulung-kaban*	Marraymarray (Mandilba's sister's husband)	*Bulbanwarra*
(4) *Mijinun*	Nunnville	*Kabu*	Mijinun (Monday Nunn)	*Kabuwarra*
(5) *Warrkin*	Helenvale	*Kabu*	Henry Bloomfield (Monday Nunn's daughter's husband)	*Muwuwarra*
			Jimmy Waljinga (Monday Nunn's daughter's son)	*Muwuwarra*
(6) *Mukumuku*	Mt. Amos	*Mukumuku*	Yangki	Mt. Amos-*warra* (Helenvale side)
			Sambo	" "
			Diamond McLean	" "
			Jimmy Seagren	Green Hill
(7) *Nyambil-nyambil*	Mt. Romeo	*Nyambil-nyambil*	Bujilkabu	*Nyambil-nyambilwarra*
			Kurukuna (son of Bujilkabu)	" "
			Mujinija (brother of Kurukuna)	" "
			Nyandi (son of Mujinija)	" "

* Numbers refer to locations shown on Figure 13.

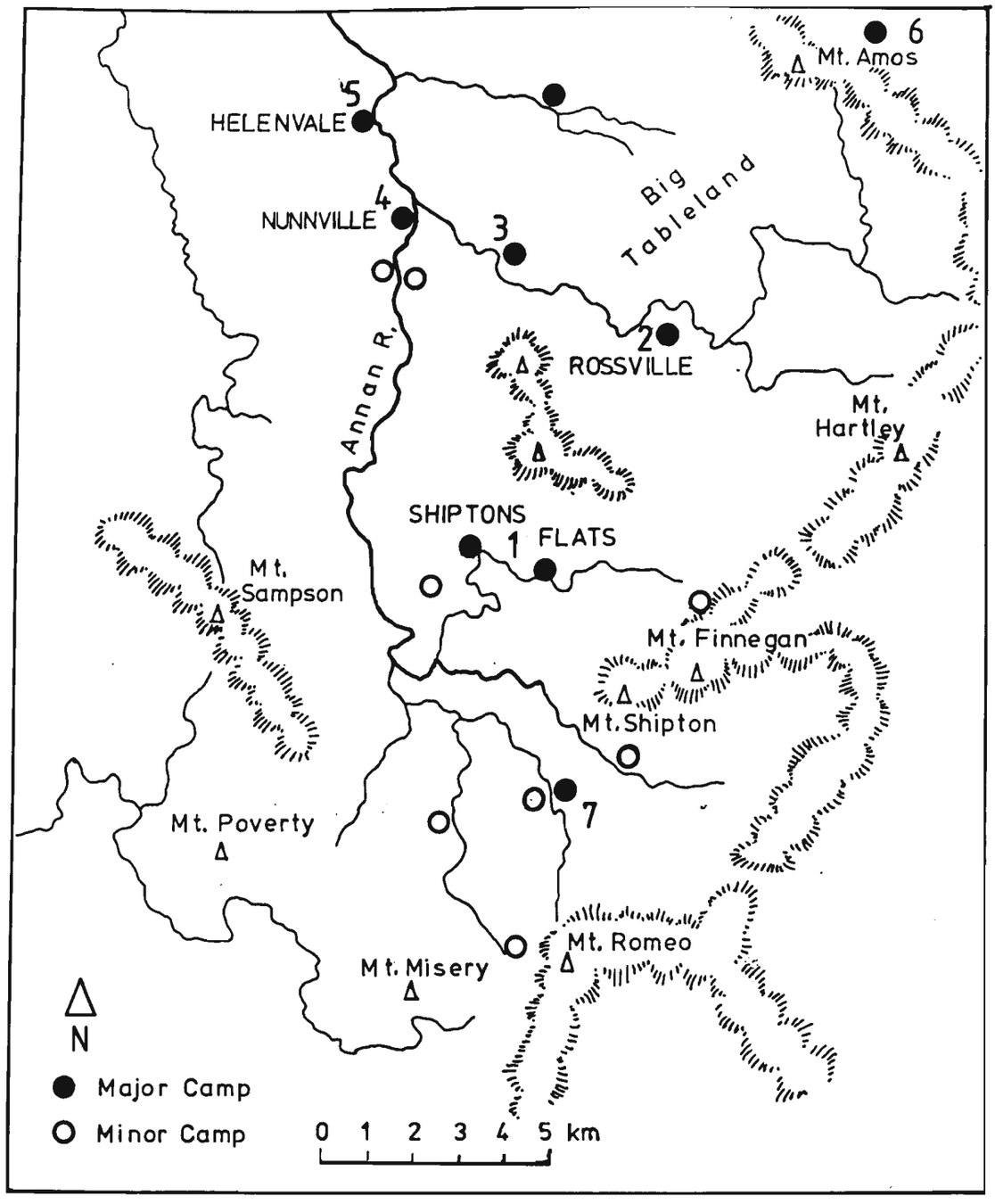

Figure 13 Kuku-Yalanji camps in the Annan area: 1886-1940.

TABLE 10

Confirmed births at major camps, Annan area

Camp	Number of births	Period	% of Total (n = 84)	
Ngulungkaban (Rossville)	18	1868-1940	21.4	
Warrkin (Helenvale)	13	1875-1931	15.5	
				61.9%
Kuna (Shipton's Flat)	16	1886-1934	19	
Nyambilnyambil (Romeo)	5*	1881-1925	6	

* Data incomplete. Probably more.

(iv) they are ones which I have been shown as being major ones by various Kuku-Nyungkul and European informants;
(v) they are ones that Kuku-Nyungkul people today use as reference points when speaking of clan estates.

From the data available, it appears that the composition of these camps was almost always of a mixed nature with respect to the clan ties of residents. They were almost wholly Kuku-Nyungkul, with some Bloomfield Kuku-Yalanji coming in around World War One, and some Normanby people in the 1920s. The major camps in each estate (Romeo, Shipton's, Rossville, etc.) contained residents from the other estates in the upper Annan cluster, but they always had a core group from the estate the camp was situated on, and often a focal person who was one of its senior owners (see Table 9 and later). There were also many small satellite camps of one or two families attached to particular smaller-scale mining operations. Usually some of the adult males (and sometimes, as domestics, the women) were working for the local European. Satellite camps were temporary (up to one - two years), but always had a major camp as a home base for much visiting, food-sharing and the like. Other camps were associated with traditional subsistence activities. Bana mukul, a site near Banana Flat was still used seasonally for production of cycad until about 1940.

'Outsider' camps also existed in the Annan region. These camps were small one-family ones which had a focal person with no strong consanguineal ties to any of the major Kuku-Nyungkul camps. Usually their home countries were either to the west in the Normanby area or in the Kings Plains district. A good example of an outsider camp is Munari, the camp of Old Billy Gibson, on a ridge above Banana Flat. Gibson was a Dandiwarra man from Kings Plains. He camped at Banana Flat for several years just after World War One tin-scratching and working as a labourer for nearby Europeans. He remained separate from the major Kuku-Nyungkul camps until several of his children married into the Rossville group, when he moved there with them. Several interesting cases of more successful assimilation of 'outside' people into the major camps exist. Marray-marray and his brothers - Miliji, Kalkabinda and Kuruwujan were Bulbanwarra from Mt. Boolbun. Marray-marray married a Rossville woman and established his own camp on Wallaby Creek flats. (This camp came to be so associated with him that the area is now called Marray-marray.) The other three men married Shipton's Flat women and

camped there, becoming prominent 'citizens' at the Kuna (Shipton's Flat) camps. Jimmy Waljinga was also a Bulbanwarra who married a Kabuwarra (Helenvale area) woman and set up an off-shoot camp from his father-in-law's camp. There is no clear reason why Bulbanwarra people left their area (some went to China Camp on the Bloomfield River), except that there were no permanent Europeans there.

The most important aspect in locating campsites in the immediate vicinity of the older and steadily producing mines was that this enabled Kuku-Nyungkul Aborigines to establish firm long-term social relations with particular Europeans. As I demonstrated in Chapter V, the long-term profitable mines in the Annan area were those run by one or two men, who owned and operated them for several decades. If other minerals had been available, lode-mining more feasible and profitable and the area not quite so rugged and remote, large companies with outside capital would undoubtedly have played a much bigger part in Annan River mining. These companies would have had managers and the mines would have been worked by Europeans on wages, generally less permanent and less committed to an area. Such work arrangements would have had little room for Aboriginal involvement in any way. The large more impersonal scale of operations and greater use of outside capital sources would have required and brought about less demand, if any, for Aboriginal labour. Kuku-Nyungkul people would also not have been able nor desired to relate to larger numbers of temporary European workers in the way they wanted (i.e. the desire to establish long-term, known social relations). This was not merely the result of some Kuku-Nyungkul psychological quirk, but rather stemmed from the use of Europeans within the context of Kuku-Nyungkul internal politics. I return to this latter point in the next section.

Those areas which were the best tin-producing centres had permanent, well-known Europeans attached to them. They also had permanent Aboriginal camps. While this provided conditions for on-going resource supplies to Aborigines, it also allowed a proper, from an Aboriginal perspective, relationship between Aborigines and Europeans. This was not the situation with the larger company claims (e.g. Collingwood), nor with areas of irregular production (e.g. Mt. Hartley, Mt. Poverty), nor with areas lacking permanent ancillary industry or areas with discontinuous ownership of claims (e.g. upper East Normanby). Here, in contrast, there was the 'voluntary' dispersal of all the

Aboriginal groups in the years around the turn of the century. Individuals moved into Cooktown, to Bloomfield, to Daintree or, where possible, attached themselves to other Kuku-Nyungkul camps. Long-term European residents reported to me that even when Aboriginal men had their own successful economic endeavour, for example, a good tin lease, and even when they apparently had plenty of bush food to support them, they invariably left an area whenever the European focal camp or enterprise moved out. The fact was that Aborigines were not merely obtaining food and goods simply because they wanted them or were ecologically compelled to do so. They obtained these resources (plus other services which I discuss below) only in the context of a particular social relationship. When and if this arrangement ended, Kuku-Nyungkul people had to establish a new, proper relationship, if possible. If not, the camps dissolved and the groups dispersed.

VI.5 Bosses.

Aboriginal groups at the permanent camps socialized their particular Europeans into the Aboriginal system by making them into 'bosses'. To the European, a boss relationship meant unequal power and ability to influence. To the Kuku-Nyungkul, however, a boss relationship meant much more. As with the majamaja and bingabinga, a boss's role was to look after people, to ensure a steady supply of needed resources, to undertake distribution of goods and to act as a social and residential focal point. The European/Aboriginal boss relationship (if a proper one) was also a very personal enduring relationship. Aboriginal people today in SECYP speak of 'my old boss', often with a great deal of humour and affection (sometimes even when he had been 'hard' or 'cheeky'. To enter into a boss relationship with a European was an attempt to bring him into the closer known social sphere. This ensured access to surplus goods he might have (in the same way it would have with an Aboriginal surplus), and, in effect, it meant that the Aboriginal group 'possessed' their bosses rather than being subordinate workers only. The value of this situation to Aborigines was considerable. Idriess (1980 [1959]:222) remarked:

> Many a man [on the Annan] budgeted an allowance of stores to dole out to aborigines for services rendered, or because he could not always resist the pleading, or because he simply liked 'the old folk', as the primitives were often called. Here and there would be a man grown so fond of the aborigines that practically all he made apart from his own living expenses went to the feeding and clothing of his aboriginal friends.

This explains a Kuku-Nyungkul man's sorrowful comment to me about another Aboriginal man: "Poor old fella, he got no boss." From an Aboriginal perspective, although the labour was recognised as reciprocal return for goods, it was the social pact between boss and Aboriginal worker (and by extension his group) which was being activated and strengthened by working. One worked for a boss as a result of the content of the social relationship and not solely for money or goods.

Bosses protected their groups too. At a time when there was a great deal of competition for Aboriginal labour between mining and cattle-based Europeans on the one hand, and beche-de-mer boat operators on the other, it was of benefit to an Aboriginal group to have a mining or stockman boss in order to protect it against the police-supervised, enforced labour recruitings for lugger-boat crews. I was told by both Aboriginal and European informants that up until the beginning of World War Two, boat captains paid recruiters to organise Aboriginal crews. The late Jack Roberts (who lived in the Annan area all his life) told me: "Aboriginal lugger crews were taken from some of the Shipton Flat and Rossville camps virtually by force. They had to go. Herded up like cattle. By the police and others. Three pound per head was paid by captains to people to round up the blacks for that one. This went on till at least 1938." The Sydney Daily Herald (20/6/1933) bears this out in its report that: "Aborigines have been recruited by members of the Queensland Police Force for the pearl-fishing fleets and have been sent

to the coastal area in chain-gangs."[7]

Aboriginal socialization of bosses occurred in other ways - for example, in naming practices. Kuku-Nyungkul people often actively and enthusiastically took on the names of their European bosses. These were not names merely given to Aborigines by police for administrative convenience. The adoption of names was a statement to other Aborigines that one had a boss and possessed the status and connections which that entailed. To other Europeans it often meant that a particular Aboriginal person 'belonged' to another European or at least that he was associated with the country on which the latter had his property. One Kuku-Nyungkul man, Charlie Tayley, described how after his mother died in childbirth with his younger brother: "The boss come up and asked my father for little fella. He said, 'I rear him up'." Although naming was sometimes due to actual genetic links, most of the Aboriginal family names (31 out of 48 surnames) and first names today in this area come from boss relationships which existed in the 1920s and 1930s. Bosses' first names were sometimes also used as Aboriginal surnames. In addition, there was the naming of children after bosses' children, and the giving of Kuku-Nyungkul names to bosses (e.g. Jalbil, Murramurra, etc.), referring to some physical attribute or an event which had occurred involving them. On the other hand, Europeans sometimes used Kuku-Nyungkul names for their houses and properties (e.g. Tandiewarrah Station on Kings Plains is obviously Dandiwarra -being the group associated with Dandi estate on Kings Plains).

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7. Chain-gangs were not used only for labour recruitment. The government also used them when removing Aborigines from one area to another in CYP. The chief protector in the 1930s, J.W. Bleakley, while admitting the practice, claimed in 1936 that it had been stopped. He noted in an official letter to a London woman, Mrs. Edith Jones: "The statement about [Aborigines] being placed in chained gangs and marched for miles was unfortunate, as although years ago it was the practice, when parties of natives were being overlanded through [CY] Peninsula on their way to Mission Stations or to centres for medical treatment, to march them in groups under Police escort, fastened together with light chains to prevent them bolting into the bush, it is only fair to say that such chains inflicted no physical cruelty upon the wearers . . ." (Bleakley 1936).

The alternatives to having a boss were not palatable for Kuku-Nyungkul. One was camping independently somewhere and obtaining rations from the police. John Walker, whose parents had tried this method when he was young, commented on it and its flaws:

> We used to have to go to Cooktown for ration - blanket, kambi ['clothes'], little bit tea, sugar. But nganjin ['we'] can't go. Little fella [children] stop there Annan River camp. Can't go [or] blue fellas [police] chase us. Little fella get caught, they send him Palm Island. Little fellas hid up in mountain. Send old people in. They get mayi ['food'] from buliman ['police'].

Another alternative was shifting to Cooktown permanently. Nearly all Kuku-Nyungkul who did this up to about 1965 were removed to southern government settlements, under the government's removal powers in the Aborigines Protection Act. Having a good boss on one's own estate (or one on which residence was possible) ensured not only individual protection, but also the maintenance of 'mobs' associated with camps on those estates, and by implication, with those bosses.

Not all Europeans could be bosses. Tin-miners in general appear to have been better bosses than, for example, Europeans on the Palmer goldfields. They were better because of their propensity to commit themselves to an area for long periods and their general lack of experience of the traditional ways of dealing with Aborigines in other areas of Australia - 'keeping the blacks out' by extermination or violent subordination. It was not sufficient to just be a tin-miner. In order to be a successful boss, one also had to run a successful enterprise. In other words, he needed a degree of structural power in his own society. He also had to depend on Aboriginal labour to some degree. Apart from these more structural features, from a Kuku-Nyungkul view, several more informal or personal qualities were also necessary. Interestingly, these include many of the traits listed in Table 2 for Aboriginal 'bosses': physical stature, strong personality, verbal ability, ability to influence, and respect or fear inducing. Other important factors were a language-learning ability (several of the well-known bosses in this area spoke fluent Kuku-Nyungkul. See also Chapters VII and VIII), and a positive (or at least not an antagonistic) attitude

toward Aboriginal ways. European bosses also fulfilled some of the same roles mentioned in II.8. I will discuss this further in the next case studies.

Other features of the tin-mining community on the Annan which were conducive to peaceful and stable relationships with Kuku-Nyungkul there were: (i) the relatively low numbers of Europeans there (a maximum of 800 in 1888 compared with over 10,000 on the Palmer in 1876); (ii) the stability of the Annan European population levels (remaining between 300 and 500 from 1889 to 1914; and (iii) the high proportion of European women and children on the Annan fields (see Plate IV). 46% of the non-Aboriginal population between 1907 and 1914 were women and children (Queensland Department of Mines, Annual Reports), compared with only 1.3% on the Palmer (Bell 1982:63). This meant a more stable and orderly European community, and one in which the men interfered with the Aboriginal women a good deal less.

VI.6 Majamaja and mobs.

The location of major twentieth century Kuku-Nyungkul camps was not unrelated to the boss phenomenon described above. Kuku-Nyungkul did not obtain European resources and services merely by each individual having his or her own boss. Rather this was primarily achieved through membership in a mob that had its more or less permanent residence at a particular camp. As I have suggested, the composition of these mobs and camps had certain important continuities with the pre-1880 patterns. In Figure 13, we see at least one major Kuku-Nyungkul camp and one major mine in six of the nine estates. By looking at genealogies and by reconstructing camp composition through informant accounts, it is clear that each of these camps or clusters of camps can be identified as having focal males. These men are listed in Table 9. These focal males are ones to which people inevitably refer when discussing these camps. These men are majamaja, men of high status and real power and influence. They are also almost always patriclan heads for the territory on which their camps are situated. It appears as if tin-mining acted to consolidate, to make more or less permanent and to increase in size, the camps focused on these men which had existed prior to contact. In fact, mining facilitated the ideal for these men - to remain on or very near one's own patriclan country. The nature of the European presence in the

Plate IV Europeans and giant fig tree, Annan River area, 1907.
(Photograph courtesy of Queensland Department of Mines)

Annan area provided the means for fulfillment, perhaps for the first time, of the Kuku-Yalanji ideology of residence as defined by Ngujakura (see Chapter III). Reports of Europeans who lived in the area around the time of World War One note the maintenance of separate group identities of these different camps - with groups only getting together for mortuary and other ceremonies. These were formal gatherings, and the same informants report also that there was a great deal of coming and going between the major camps. In other words, the camps had a fluid and mixed composition. The separate camp or group identities can be primarily accounted for by the existence of the majamaja as focal or core elements. These men are apical ancestors for Kuku-Nyungkul groups today and are now often referred to by the place name of the major camp in the estate where they resided (or conversely, major camp sites came to be known as the name of the focal male who was maja of a particular camp) (cf. VI.4 and von Sturmer 1978:261).

Given my discussion in Chapter IV of the dominant role of older Kuku-Nyungkul males in general and of certain males in particular in the pre-1880 political economy, I would like to suggest here that the latter men - the majamaja - used the presence of the Europeans not only as a means of securing their ideal residence pattern, but also to consolidate and extend their power by gaining and ensuring permanent access to European resources and services. They did this by setting up, usually through younger males, general relationships with key Europeans. Having done so, the majamaja could thus stay on their estates virtually permanently and, in spite of the damage to the traditional resource base, look after their mobs in bigger and better ways (with steel axes, flour and unlimited meat). When successful, this also meant more mob members or followers, which in turn, up to a point, meant increased power and control.

Majamaja accomplished this by having the younger males under their control establish, where possible, firm, long-term relations with the Europeans who lived on their estates. Let us briefly examine this situation. Records from the Cooktown Aboriginal Employment Register (Q.S.A) show that younger male group-members were often working on their father's or father's father's estates. Plate V shows Sambo, a young Mt. Amos man working on his own country (see Table 9). Examples from Shipton's Flat and Mt. Romeo estates include:

Plate V Sambo of Mt. Amos working as a horseboy for his boss, Mr Burton, ca.1900. (Photograph courtesy of John Oxley Library)

Friday of Shipton's Flat [Kunawarra man, 'son' (B+S) of Bluja King, focal male of Kuna camp]. 30 years old. Employed from 13/6/1938 with Homborist Bros., carriers of Shipton's Flat.
Friday ... employed from 1/2/1927 by Arthur Shipton, butcher of Shipton's Flat at Shipton's Flat as horseboy.
Friday ... employed from 13/2/1928 by Arthur Shipton, miner of Shipton's Flat at Shipton's Flat as horseboy.

Nudgee Shipton of Shipton's Flat [Nyuji. Kunawarra, son of Bluja King] 42 years. Employed from 27/3/1928 by John Lee, miner of Shipton's Flat at Shipton's Flat as horseboy.
Same for all of 1929.

Johnny Walker of Shipton's Flat [Kunawarra man, son of Nyuji, SS of Bluja King] 16 years. Employed from 1/5/1928 by Frank Sykes, miner of Shipton's Flat at Shipton's Flat as horseboy.
Same for 1929 and 1930.

Nandy of Romeo [Nyandi. Nyambilnyambilwarra man, son's son of Bujilkabu, focal male of Nyambilnyambil camp, Mt. Romeo]. 35 years. Employed from 30/1/1928 by Harry Sykes, miner of Mt. Romeo as horseboy.
Nandy of Romeo employed from 1/2/1929 by A.J. Griffiths, miner of Mt. Romeo at Mt. Romeo as horseboy.
Same for 1930 at Jubilee Creek.

Having these younger men working on their own estates provided their fathers and grandfathers with an immediate access to European resources from their labour. Perhaps more importantly, they provided a rationale (at least from a European point of view) for the whole group to be camping where they were. They gave the group the basis for identification with specific Europeans in the same way they were already identified with the land-specific estate on which their particular European was living and working. The European bosses stood for or were 'agents' of certain European structures, as the Kuku-Nyungkul majamaja were for Aboriginal structures - except that this relationship was interposed by young men (and as we shall later see, to a lesser extent, by women). I discuss this buffer role between Europeans and the 'real

power' in the camps in a later case study of a Kuku-Yalanji mob at China Camp, on the Bloomfield.

In general then, the majamaja worked their male descendants as in pre-contact times, but now, through them, they also worked the European bosses. They used their male descendants as reasons for the existence of permanent camps: it was seen by Europeans to be legitimate for an Aboriginal group to camp near a white household if the camp was providing some degree of labour. They also used them to obtain the things that were only available from Europeans.

The old men did not merely passively control the labour of their young men. I have recorded several instances (and heard rumours of more) where the old men indirectly cooperated with the European lugger boat recruiters to have certain young Aboriginal males taken away. Chase (Pers. Com.) states that this also occurred in NECYP. There, young men were sent by their fathers and other senior males of their group to work on favoured lugger captains' boats. Chase describes this as something akin to an arranged marriage, with the focus on individuals as representatives of groups through whom things between the groups (in this case, particular Aboriginal groups and European society) are channelled. Saville-Kent (1893:228), too, noted: "The attachment of the aborigines to [the beche-de-mer industry] is practically demonstrated by the persistence with which the same families, or individuals, will year after year seek re-engagement at the hands of honest employers."

The young men sent off in SECYP may also have been those who would not 'toe the line' in the sense that having once established for themselves relatively independent access to European resources and power, they may have seen this as a means of short-circuiting the age-biased traditional power structure and of using their connections to achieve new status. Sending young men away also helped the older male maintain a monopoly on marriage partners. After removals from SECYP began in about 1900, young men virtually had to work, if work was available and the older men deemed it so - for not working was sufficient grounds for removal.

There certainly seems to have been a general pattern in the Annan and Bloomfield districts for the younger men who had European bosses to resent the continuing domination of the bingabinga and majamaja. Idriess (1934:88), describing a young Bloomfield man whom he had engaged as a guide, noted: "Toby [Toby Bloomfield, a Kangkijiwarra man who lived

later at Jajikal. See Chapter VIII. J.C.A.] had that common urge in the young native anxious to break away from the tribal laws and rules of the old men." Part of their dilemma, however, was that although the young men may have resented their domination, the old men were still an integral part of the system which reproduced the camp which supported the young men when they were not working.

There were other reasons for old men using the police willingness to remove young men. In one case[8] in 1956, a young woman's father did not approve her choice of marriage partner (although the arrangement was 'straight' or correct). He helped convince the police to have the potential husband removed on grounds that he was 'causin' trouble' an 'runnin' round with everybody wife'. (Unfortunately for the old man, the police also removed his daughter.)

It was not just young men that majamaja sought to have removed. Police intervention was sometimes actively used by one or other of the parties involved in personal-political struggles. This is demonstrated in the following cases. The first occurred in 1941 as the result of a protracted internal power struggle between two lineages in the same clan. (This clan was prominent at one of the major Annan camps.) The relationships are shown in Figure 14. Conflict had apparently been

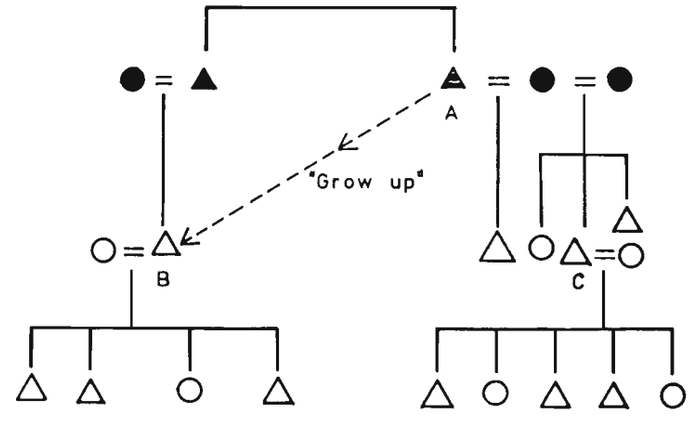

Figure 14 Relationships between members of an Annan River camp, 1941.

8. Although I obtained these data from informants, the names, dates and alleged charges are recorded in the Aboriginal Occurrence Book (POA 13/1 Q.S.A.). I give no such details here (nor of the following two cases), as many of the parties involved are still living.

brewing for many years between 'B' and 'C' and came to a head when 'A' died. 'C' was able by use of several well-placed remarks (although it helped that 'B' was 'known to the police' as a 'troublemaker') to engineer having 'B' and members of his family in camp at the time removed to Palm Island. The second case, in 1939, involved the 'framing' of the only remaining son of a powerful camp maja so that the former would be removed by police. This left the way open for the taking over of the estate by a group from a distant estate who had migrated over and set up an independent camp several kilometres away from the real owners' camp. The usurpers were successful and eventually shifted the focus of life in that estate away from the real clan's camp to their own, especially when the maja in the original group died. Not only did they remove the estate's traditional next-in-line owner, but they also got rid of the old head's worker and the original group's link to a European boss.

Several points can be made here. The removal instigations by the majamaja were always done indirectly and with a great deal of subtlety. All it took usually was the right word in the ear of local Europeans and, judging from the number and frequency of removals and the minor 'offenses' involved (see Chapter IX), it did not take much to get the police to cooperate. It does seem that police, especially officials of long-standing in SECYP, knew something of the real power structures in the Annan camps. This was also true of several European residents. At least one truly powerful senior camp head, Bluja King, of Shipton's Flat, was made into a 'King' by police, and given a brass plate to symbolise his status (see Plate VI)[9]

Another point is that the majamaja operated with absolute ruthlessness and there often existed intense rivalry between them. In the early contact period, the establishment of the camps themselves and the new boss relationships with Europeans must be seen as part of and as an outcome of this political and personal competition. Having a large, permanent camp such as the ones at Shipton's Flat, for instance, meant

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9. There were two other 'kings' associated with groups just to the north of the Kuku-Nyungkul: 'Gnarwin' of the Lamalama, and 'Oonquilba' of the Ralmal (see Lamond 1897); there was also a 'King Larry of the Annan River tribe' (of whom there is a photograph in the Oxley Library, Brisbane), yet I have no information about him. He was probably from the lower Annan area.

Plate VI Bluja King of *Kuna* camp, Shipton's Flat, ca.1900.
Photograph courtesy of John Oxley Library)

considerable power for the Kunawarra camped there and their majamaja, and conversely, it left little power to those Kuku-Nyungkul lacking such an arrangement.

VI.7 The demise of the Annan camps.

There were significant consequences of the residential arrangements and new social relationships which Kuku-Nyungkul entered into with Europeans on the Annan. These consequences were to eventually help bring about significant structural change in the Kuku-Nyungkul political economy. I discuss these fully in Chapter IX after looking at case studies from the Bloomfield region. We have seen that the basis of the relationship between Aborigines and Europeans on the Annan was tin-mining. As a result, when tin-mining ceased, the relationship changed. Specifically, with the Depression and a world slump in mineral prices and with most of the more profitable deposits mined out, Europeans began leaving the Upper Annan area in the 1930s and 1940s. I have posited in this chapter that an integral part of the new Kuku-Nyungkul mode of living was the establishment and maintenance of a stable residential, economic and social relationship with particular Europeans. Given this, it is not surprising then that when whites began leaving the area, Aborigines followed suit. Sometimes following particular bosses and sometimes not, Kuku-Nyungkul individuals and families made their way into Cooktown, and to Daintree and Bloomfield in search of new, viable boss relationships which could provide them with a permanent, safe residential arrangement and a satisfactory economic relationship. The mode of production on which the Kuku-Nyungkul social system was based and which had been conserved and reinforced for a time by tin-mining, was now totally subordinated to the European system.

For those Kuku-Nyungkul who went to Cooktown, the new life which developed there in the 1930s and 1940s made it far more difficult to maintain proper boss relationships. It was not that individuals could not establish such relationships. It was always possible for a good reliable Aboriginal worker to find a boss in town. Rather, it was the lack of any context in which the specific group to which those individuals belonged could maintain separate identities and reproduce themselves. There was no niche in the town-based economy for Kuku-Nyungkul society, as a set of social and physical groups, to survive.

This also coincided with (and helped to bring about) the removal of Kuku-Nyungkul individuals and families from Cooktown to southern government penal settlements on a large scale. Those Kuku-Nyungkul left in Cooktown in the late 1950s thus began to move south to the Bloomfield to establish a new independent camp there. I will return to this camp in Chapter VIII.

Chapter VII: The first Bloomfield Mission and the Wyalla camp: 1886-1902.

VII.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter, I described an articulation period which had several major components. On the one hand, the capitalist mode of production was represented by a specific intervention complex, tin-mining, with global or macro forces and their local manifestations. A major aspect of the latter was specific Europeans - bosses - who acted as focal points and channeling agents for the intervention complex. On the other hand, the Aboriginal system consisted of discrete yet changing groups or mobs living in discrete, known camps. Further, these camps were associated with and defined by specific Aboriginal men known as majamaja. I argued that the nature of the particular intervention complex which dominated the Annan River region from 1885 to the 1940s, was such that, instead of bringing about the disintegration of Kuku-Nyungkul society, it actually played into and facilitated certain social processes on-going within the Aboriginal system since at least 1880. The mining intervention fostered an increase in the ability of those individuals with structural power as well as positions of high achieved status to realise the residence pattern ideal posited by the ideology of Ngujakura. However, at the same time this process sowed the seeds for radical structural change in the entire Aboriginal political economy. I will return to this change and the different period of articulation which it represented in Chapter IX.

In the next two chapters, my task is to examine further this argument in a number of different settings and under different conditions. The following case studies look at articulation between other intervention complexes and Kuku-Yalanji Aborigines in the Bloomfield area. In this chapter I present data on two camps which coexisted in the Bloomfield valley from the mid-1880s to about 1900. One camp was at the first Bloomfield River Mission, and the other was at Wyalla Plains.

VII.2 The Bloomfield River Mission and its camp.

In V.6 I described the intervention complex of the Lutheran Church and its first mission attempts at Bloomfield between 1887 and 1902. The

primary aim of this venture, apart from the bringing of Christianity to Bloomfield, was the centralization of Aborigines at one major settlement whose economic self-sufficiency was to be based on agriculture. This mission aim also coincided with the Queensland government's desire to solve Aboriginal problems (as they were perceived then) with minimal restriction on European land use and economic development of the area. I discussed, too, the problems which the missionaries had in achieving their aims and the reasons for this: their lack of knowledge of tropical agriculture and their unreasonably high expectations of the land's productivity, their antagonism towards Kuku-Yalanji culture, their bad relations with other Europeans, administrative difficulties and lack of control over Aborigines in the area.

In 1902, Roth recommended that the mission be closed permanently. He summarised the mission's problems in a report for the government:

> The blacks have no incentive to come into the Mission where, unless work is done, no food is distributed. On the other hand, the surrounding scrubs are so rich in native foods that the daily wants of the Aborigines can be supplied with the minimum of physical exertion. Furthermore, there are several settlers and miners in the district from whom the natives can always get tobacco in return for very light services, as also for the loan of their women. During the past year there were rarely more than 10 or 12, usually under half-a-dozen, men present at the station, the rest being made up of women and children: even these, however, were continually changing - they might stay a very few weeks at the most, but would suddenly take their departure one morning and be replaced by another crowd a few days later. It was also impossible to keep the school going: the children might put in an appearance for a few days, but would then be taken away on the peregrinations of their elders. Only two men and one woman have been residing there permanently (Roth 1903:467).

The mission at Bloomfield River was finally abandoned completely by the Lutheran Church in 1902; the police at Ayton took charge of the station and the buildings were dismantled and the timber sent to Cape

Bedford. The status of the land as an Aboriginal reserve was also cancelled, and it was opened for lease occupation. The Lutheran Church's unsuccessful evangelization of the Bloomfield Aborigines and, in fact, the failure of the entire mission project, was summarised many years later by Dr. Otto Theile, then President of the Queensland Lutheran Church. He noted in 1938 that "It fills the heart with sadness when it is realized that sixteen years of effort and sacrifice remained without result. During those years not a single native was baptised" (Theile 1938:107).

In this section we examine Kuku-Yalanji usage of the mission. I suggest that the problems mentioned above were not the only, nor even the primary reasons for the mission's failure. The concepts of 'boss' and 'camp', and the processes of attachment which I described in Chapter VI provide a better understanding of what happened at the first Bloomfield mission.

The first important point is that the mission <u>was</u> used by Kuku-Yalanji Aborigines. There is no evidence that Aborigines were brought under duress to the mission by police or the missionaries, nor that they were forcibly kept there. There was, it seems, always at least one residential camp (see Plate VII) at a distance of about a kilometre from the main mission, which consisted of houses for the European staff, farm buildings and a small shed sometimes used as a dormitory for young Aboriginal men. There was no other built accommodation for Aboriginal residents at the mission (see Roth 1898a). Monthly Aboriginal population figure averages for the mission years for which data are available, are shown in Table 11.

In considering the identity of the Aborigines who were using the mission, the first and foremost factor is that the mission was sited on a particular Kuku-Yalanji clan estate. The mission was situated on the <u>Wujalwujal</u> estate (named for the waterfall site upriver) and the patriclan and residential group associated with this estate were <u>Wujalwujalwarra</u>. Several historical references support this. Bauer, the first mission superintendent, noted that the mission area was called 'Wodall Wodall' (Bauer 1887b). Hoerlein in a letter in about 1899 refers to the language of the local Aborigines as being the 'Wotjal Wotjal language' (Hoerlein n.d.a.). Missionary Meyer mentioned "members of the Wotjal Wotjal tribe" being at the mission. He also commented on the mixed clan composition of the group: "We are living on Wotjal Wotjal

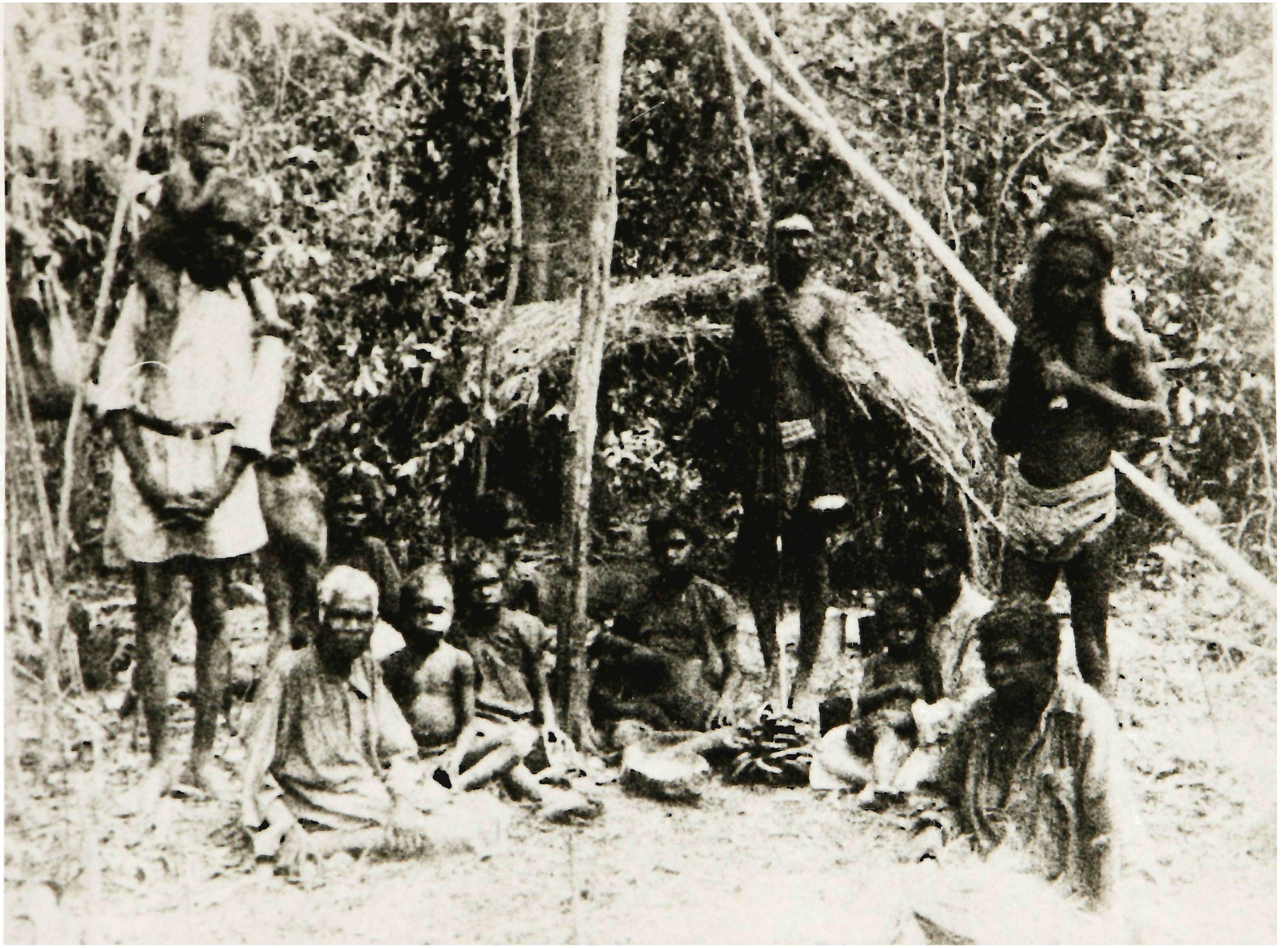

Plate VII Bloomfield River Mission camp, 1890s. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs H. Jones)

TABLE 11

Population figures of Bloomfield Mission Camp, 1887-1900*

Date	Monthly Average
March 1887	79
April 1887	82
May 1887	101
June 1887	120
January 1889	60
December 1889	70
April 1890	70
May 1890	70
October 1890	30
March 1981	70
August 1891	34
September 1891	27
November 1891	30
December 1892	84
January 1893	42
March 1893	39
August 1893	55
September 1893	49
October 1893	52
November 1893	48
December 1893	59
January 1894	55
February 1894	57
August 1894	45
November 1895	38
February 1898	35
January 1899	20
February 1899	40
February 1900	70

* Figures compiled from: "Returns of Aboriginals Fed at the Bloomfield Mission Station". Q.S.A. Col/A 675, 682, 724, 726, 733, 754, 757, 760, 761, 766, 782, 801; Roth 1898;

and figures mentioned in letters from missionaries Meyer and Hoerlein to Rechner, U.E.L.C.A. File.

land. But quite a number of other tribes live here together on mutually very friendly terms and they all understand the local language" (Meyer 1890a). This fact of mission location implied several things. Firstly members of Wujalwujalwarra would ipso facto have had greater de jure rights over other Aborigines at the mission with respect to decisions concerning events there. Secondly, Wujalwujalwarra would have utilised the presence of the mission to increase their de facto power as well, and they would probably have had primary say in dealing with the missionaries. Meyer's (1887a) comments about a 'Wotjalwotjal chief' support this (see p. 158).

Thirdly, we would expect, given the discussion of land tenure and residence in Chapter III, that members of the same estate cluster as Wujalwujal would predominate at the mission. This would enable members of these linked clans to tap into the resources available at the mission. Hodgkinson's (1886) report confirms this. This lists actual patriclan names - i.e., what he calls 'tribes' are all estate names with the -warra suffix (see Table 3). Out of the the 19 'tribes' he lists as having members resident at the mission, 12 are inland Bloomfield groups and five are related riverine and nearby coastal area Kuku-Yalanji. Roth also notes:

> The natives met with on the Mission Reserve (Wudjal-wudjal) and at Connemara, i.e., Baird's Selection (Borru) come from country (Nu-ru) at the head of Granite Creek (the northern branch of the Bloomfield River), from the district (Mu) between Granite Creek and the Bloomfield River, from The Springs, i.e., Cook's Selection (Bul-pan) from west (Mulu-jin) of Baird's Selection whence they travel to Mareeba (Roth 1910a:92).

The nature of the estate cluster residence patterns, which I argue were also the norm in SECYP prior to European arrival (see Chapter III), would have thus kept the Aboriginal population levels at the mission at the low level that it always was. Yet it was almost always greater in size and much more mixed in composition than just one clan-group. However, we would expect that large numbers of other groups, particularly those persons without close consanguineal or affinal ties to Wujalwujalwarra (and thus not in the same cluster), would have been

reluctant to stay for any length of time at the mission. This was especially so for groups which also had Europeans on their own estates (e.g. Buruwarra at China Camp).

The conclusion to be drawn from these points is that a mission in SECYP located permanently at one site would generally have relatively few Aborigines permanently resident there (unless they were forced by external conditions to migrate in). Given the right conditions outside the mission, there would have always been other camps elsewhere in the Bloomfield valley, either in the bush or attached to the properties of other Europeans. Several missionary comments support this. In 1888 Meyer reported that "there are crowds of natives in the region whom one should contact, but not until we have a better command of the language" (Meyer 1888b). In 1889 Meyer requested another missionary be sent by the Church, saying one was needed "as it is getting urgent to organize some mission journeys to bring the Good Tidings to the many blacks" (Meyer 1891d). Meyer then reported in 1891 after Hoerlein arrived, that the latter's presence at Bloomfield "would now enable us to go on trips to the camps of the blacks in the out-lying areas. There is a need for such trips, but we have so far not managed to get away" (Meyer 1891c).

That Aborigines in these other camps did not want to centralise on the mission site is supported by statements from other European observers in the area at the time. Robert Hislop, one of the most knowledgeable Europeans in the area about Aborigines, argued the case for "a number of small reserves [rather] than a few large ones owing to the disclination [sic] of the Aborigines to remain long away from their own hunting grounds" (R. Hislop 1897).[1] Byers, too, the local land ranger, felt that a large central reserve was unsatisfactory, "as more than two or three tribes of blacks will not agree to gather on such a reserve" (Byers 1892). With the power (in Aboriginal terms) that accrued from being able to live on one's own estate, and knowing of the resources and advantages provided by having resident Europeans, it is not surprising that Aborigines from nearby estates tried to urge the missionaries to come to their country. Meyer wrote to the South

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1. Hislop also advised, without success, that a great deal of trouble could be saved if administrators found out where Aborigines lived, what lands they actually used and where sites of religious or mythic significance were before reserves were gazetted (see R. Hislop 1897).

Australian Mission Congregations saying:

> They [the Aborigines] are . . . encouraging us to go further inland. They are suggesting we should set up a mission there too: they tell us that there are lots of blacks there, plenty of water and fish in abundance and land both fertile and level, and kangaroos as large as oxen ('all the same bullocki' [Meyer's note]). No doubt the blacks mean well, but they have no idea of the difficulties involved in carrying out such a project. When things have settled down a bit better, I shall, if the Lord gives me strength, seek out these black folk (Meyer 1888a).[2]

In summary, the mission was not the focal place for all Aborigines as the mission and the government hoped it would be. Rather it was merely another camp used predominantly by Kuku-Yalanji associated with Wujalwujal and nearby estates.

VII.3 Functions of the mission camp.

It seems reasonable to assume, given the pattern described for the Annan area in the previous chapter, that Wujalwujalwarra and related groups were happy to have the mission on their country. They could attach themselves, their groups and camps to particular (hopefully permanent) Europeans on their own country. This attachment served a number of purposes for the Kuku-Yalanji who camped at the mission.

The first and most obvious is that the mission was an assured source of food, particularly flour and meat, but also tobacco. The records reveal that large amounts of rations and goods were being distributed at the mission as early as 1887, only eight years after the first European settler came into the area. Bauer, the first superintendent, was distributing every week an average of 210 lbs of meat, 230 lbs of flour, 150 lbs of tea, 111bs of sugar, 1500 lbs of

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2. Given Meyer's description of the Aborigines' comments, I suspect these people were from the Upper Daintree and Upper Normanby areas. It is not surprising that people were encouraging the missionaries to come into this country as it had no permanent Europeans.

potatoes, 574 lbs of pumpkin, as well as 3.2 lbs of tobacco, seven knives and ten pairs of blankets per week. This was for an average Aboriginal population of 89, which works out at 2.4 lbs of meat, 2.6 lbs of flour and 16 lbs of potatoes per week per person.[3] In 1889, Meyer ordered 12 tons of flour, one ton of rice, one and a half tons of sugar, two chests of tea and one and a half cwt of tobacco (Meyer 1889a).

Several comments by the missionaries imply that Aborigines often only came into the mission, went to church and worked, in order to obtain food and other rations. Hoerlein mentioned the "sermon on Sunday afternoon between 4.30 and 5, to which the blacks come, because they get fed afterwards" (Hoerlein 1891a). The mission labourer, Koch, noted that "In theory labour is available, if only the blacks were willing to do a worthwhile job. The few who do come to work are really only interested in food" (Koch 1889). The supply of meat was a particular attraction. Hoerlein, in discussing the slaughter of the mission cattle every few weeks, noted: "Of course, the blacks . . . get their share. They were longing for meat, overate straightaway, felt very ill but set to once more the minute they got better. No one who has not seen it could credit how much they can eat!" (Hoerlein n.d.a.).

The evidence also strongly suggests that Kuku-Yalanji fitted the mission into their seasonal subsistence cycle. I stated in Chapter III that the wet season in SECYP was a lean, uncomfortable time of the year for Aborigines; a time in which they gathered in large wet season camps with substantial dwellings. The dry, on the other hand, was a time for travelling, visiting and hunting, gathering and camping in small groups. A range of comments from the missionaries and the respective months they were made in support a pattern of coming in to the mission in the wet and going out (at least more frequently if not permanently) in the dry season:

> 2/12/88: "At the moment very few [Aborigines] are here, but we are hoping that they will all be back with the wet" (Steicke 1888).
> 17/2/89: "The rain has brought plenty of blacks to the station" (Steicke 1889b).

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3. Record of rations distributed: Bloomfield River Mission Station 19/3/ - 28/5/1887 Col/A504 Q.S.A. (I have left these weights in their original imperial measures.)

12/10/89: "They say they want to return here as soon as we have some rain . . ." (Meyer 1889a).
14/11/89: "Heavy rain . . . There are lots of blacks at the station" (Steicke 1889c).
April 1890: "Since Christmas we have had a lot of natives here all the time" (Steicke 1890).
17/11/90: "Only 30 in camp. Main tribe has gone away but will return in the wet" (Rechner 1890b).
10/8/91: "All went off yesterday with the exception of a few families. They want to go kangaroo hunting for a while and then come back" (Hoerlein 1891d).
10/9/1900: "Not so many here now. They are starting to scatter" (Hoerlein 1900b).

The plentifulness of the Bloomfield bush in the dry was also a factor in keeping people away from the mission, even when there were abundant rations there: "The blacks are widely scattered now, and only a few are here to help with the work. And yet there are food and other things here available to them" (Pingilina 1889). Also: "Quite a few of the blacks were not present at the [clothing] distribution, for they like to go off kangaroo hunting and they also revert to their previous foodstuffs at times: bananas, yams, plums, nuts, etc. Messengers were at once sent out after these wanderers and they all came back promptly" (Meyer 1887c).[4]

The mission also provided access to certain material culture items which were greatly sought after by Kuku-Yalanji. The mission had a problem for a time with the children stealing farm tools, presumably to take back to their parents (Meyer 1891d). Pipes, knives and 'bloodred handkerchiefs' were also highly prized (Hoerlein 1891c). Blankets too were eagerly sought, and not only for sleeping. Local settlers reported to the police and to Roth, the Protector, that they had noticed Aborigines using blankets as sails on their outrigger canoes (Roth 1903c). Meyer reported that the mission was "overflowing with the blacks" for Christmas of 1899: "Everybody had turned up, partly just

4. Roth (1898a:14) also noted this seasonal variability. He recommended that rations to Aborigines in other areas of SECYP only be distributed in the wet season.

from curiosity, partly because they had heard that there would be a distribution of gifts" (Meyer 1890a).

No doubt well aware that the mission's continued existence depended on their presence and occasional work there, the Aborigines used this power to gain more of the things they wanted from the missionaries, especially food. They certainly refused to work when there were no food supplies at the mission. In May 1891, when the supply boat was unable to bring goods from Cooktown due to the bad weather, the mission ran out of flour. Meyer noted then that "The blacks stayed in their camps and we got no work done here. I had just enough to feed the children, so that they don't leave the station" (Meyer 1891e). Meyer also complained about the number of Aboriginal men in the camp who were not willing to work: "This, they declared, was because we did not give them enough. And one day they came and announced that they were all leaving" (Meyer 1889c). (This was in May at the beginning of the dry season.)

Another important function which the mission fulfilled for Aborigines was that of a caring centre or repository for the elderly, ill and young. The missionaries' medicine and health care was a significant attraction. Hodgkinson (1886) referred very early on to the obvious effects of introduced diseases on the Bloomfield people (see Chapter IX). There are numerous references to the fact that sometimes the Bloomfield mission contained only the elderly, the ill and the very young. Several references exist as to the great number of children in the mission compared to the number of adults; also of only girls being left at the mission (see Steicke 1889b; Meyer 1887f; Hoerlein 1901a. See also Plate I). In 1899 Hoerlein noted: "We don't have many blacks, but enough when it comes to keeping them in food. They are mainly old people, sick people and children, about 40 in all" (Hoerlein n.d.a.). As for the mission's health focus, Hoerlein stated dejectedly in 1900: "I am virtually running a hospital" (Hoerlein 1900c). Roth (1898d) remarked on how the mission seemed to only support 'syphlitics' and 'orphan girls'.

The predominance of the children at the mission was the result of two things: the desire of the missionaries to concentrate their 'civilising' efforts on the children, and the use by Kuku-Yalanji parents of the mission as a safe place (especially) for Aboriginal girls. The mission encouraged the parents to leave the children at the mission and built a cottage to house the schoolchildren. At the beginning of

the scheme Meyer noted: "The parents don't want to part with the children. But once they feel sure that the youngsters cannot come to any harm here, I feel sure they will grow to approve of the practice" (Meyer 1891f). By at least the late 1890s, young girls were being left for the missionaries to 'look after'. I have no direct evidence, but it is possible that men were having their young promised spouses left at the mission for the missionaries to 'mind'. They no doubt knew that one of the latter's main concern was to keep the girls separated from males of any age. A sample comment from Hoerlein: "So far the girls are conducting themselves well, but I fear the devil will yet tempt them to lust after men" (Hoerlein n.d.a.; see also Hoerlein 1900c). It seems also that Aboriginal parents used the mission to protect their daughters against the abuses of local European men.[5] The mission was almost certainly also used generally by some Bloomfield Aborigines as a refuge against depredations or revenge killings by other Aborigines (see Meyer 1890c).

VII.4 The missionaries as bosses.

The first Bloomfield mission failed, from a European perspective, largely because it was unable to keep large numbers of Aborigines permanently at the mission. On the other hand, it should have been possible for a permanent core of Aboriginal people to establish themselves at the mission camp in the same way that Kuku-Nyungkul-speaking people had done at certain mining centres. While this may in fact have occurred at the mission during its first eight to ten years, it was not the case by the late 1890s. By this stage the mission generally consisted of small groups of young girls and old people (see Roth 1903: 467). In order to understand the reasons for this, we need to look at some of the differences between the miners and the missionaries.

There are several reasons why Kuku-Yalanji may have preferred attachments to other Europeans than to the missionaries. One, perhaps too obvious, reason is that the mission expected of Aborigines more work by more people for an equivalent return of rations and goods. Even if

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5. As Hoerlein noted "Ninety-five per cent of the white labourers in the area take their right to the black girls for granted" (1900a).

the return was less with miners and other settlers, Aborigines may have preferred the latter because of their less strict schedules and work programmes. There was a time when rations were available at certain settlers' properties for no work at all (see VII.6).

I propose that the primary reason from a Kuku-Yalanji perspective lay with the missionaries themselves and the mission endeavour, and the inability of the Aborigines to establish what to them were proper relationships. They were unable to turn the missionaries into 'bosses' in the same way that the Annan people had done with the tin-miners. Kuku-Yalanji people clearly wondered about the differences between the missionaries and other European settlers. The missionaries apparently had great difficulty in convincing the Aborigines:

> . . . that we are not here for the same reason as the other settlers. We are not looking for gold or tin, nor are we working the land just for profit. And they are beginning to recognize the purpose of our presence among them. They really could not properly grasp this . . . (Meyer 1889c).

As time went on the Aborigines perceived other more important differences, but there is evidence that in the early days of the mission, the old men, at least, were attempting to understand the missionary endeavour and to come to grips with a Lutheran world view, although this certainly did not imply acceptance. Meyer observed this on several occasions:

> Some of them repeatedly ask very important questions . . . But whether this can be taken to herald a thoroughgoing change for the better is by no means certain. Their questions prove that the preaching is not in vain . . . (Meyer 1890d).

> I have really been very happy on the last few Sundays, for the questions they asked were particularly interesting and the comments they were passing amongst themselves gave rise to very real hope . . . that they may turn from their former wickedness and confess the Giving Lord (Meyer 1889c).

> Every Sunday we preach the gospel . . . Some of the blacks at least listen most attentively and are very ready to discuss the issue. It is all entirely new to them and they are very surprised that we should want to tell them about it. They frequently mention the fact that other white people never spoke about these things (Meyer 1888b).[6]

Like Kuku-Yalanji bingabinga, missionaries were seen as having access to significant and mysterious knowledge.

However, the following quote gives the greatest insight into the Kuku-Yalanji view of the missionaries' concepts:

> When we expound the commandments to these people in their own language, we find that they feel most astonished that such rules are meant for all human beings, and that the Son of the Almighty should have suffered and died for the sins of men. But still, they are most attentive and never try to contradict anything we tell them. The most regularly recurring questions are: whether they would be supplied in heaven with 'maji tjirai' [mayi jirray = 'plenty of food'] and much 'mina' [minya = 'meat']; and whether work was being done in heaven too. Such questions are of course not unnatural, coming as they do, from a population which knows of no other than material values (Meyer 1888c).

There are no similar such positive comments about Kuku-Yalanji responsiveness in the twelve years of correspondence following 1890, and this suggests that Kuku-Yalanji may have either given up their attempts to understand the Christian message, or that the nature of their relationship with the missionaries no longer required the Aborigines to humour them by going to church every Sunday. It may have been that the bingabinga, particularly, felt that the missionaries were presenting an active challenge to them and the way of life which they dominated in a way which other Europeans, especially some tin-miner bosses, did not.

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6. Such comments, however, do not fit with the alleged lack of English skills on the part of Aborigines (as the church services were apparently always in either German or English).

The population figures do suggest that in the later years, adult men stopped coming in to the mission altogether for any length of time.

A function which the missionaries occasionally fulfilled and which was boss-like in nature was that of being intermediaries in conflicts between Aborigines. In a conflict situation, people appealed to the positions of power which the missionaries had, partly because they were seen as outside of the sides of the dispute, but also because of the ability which they had to make use of the power of such structures as represented by the police. Meyer described his intervention in one fight. He had just gone into the mission house, when he:

> heard an uproar and a great tumult break out. By the time I got downstairs, the unfortunate victim [of the fight] was already racing towards me to seek protection. It was a horrifying spectacle. Four spears were lodged in his body and another two spear points had entered deeply, one into his arm and another one into his neck: but their shafts had broken off and they could not be removed. The points had strong backward facing barbs. He would certainly have been hit by further weapons, if he had not been able to reach me so promptly. The agitation was so intense, that we [Meyer and his wife] actually were in danger ourselves. Not that they had any deliberate intention to do us any harm. But they were literally beside themselves with excitement and not in control of their actions. However, after a while they did calm down and the wounded man was taken to his camp (Meyer 1891f).

There were several other factors which prevented Kuku-Yalanji from establishing proper 'boss' relationships with the missionaries. Firstly, the missionaries, as we saw in V.6, were actively against most aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture. Additionally, the missionaries set up or attempted to set themselves up as change agents with respect to the Aboriginal way of life: separating old and young, men and women, inculcating the children with new ways, having 'troublemakers' removed by the police, haranguing people about their beliefs, and so on. Secondly, as noted in Chapter V, all the missionaries at Bloomfield maintained throughout their terms a separation from the Aborigines.

Kuku-Yalanji personal names are extremely rare in the correspondence and reports. Both the principal missionaries express feelings that they never got to know the people well. No real awareness is demonstrated at all of the reality or specifics of an Aboriginal way of life. There is no mention, for instance, of betrothal practices or of the significance of sites, both of which would have been prominent features governing Kuku-Yalanji life. None of the ethnological work on Bloomfield people done during the mission era relied on the missionaries for insight or knowledge. It would appear that the only cultural differences the missionaries saw were rejected as 'superstition', or as something that needed changing. Thirdly, the mission probably had too many Europeans at one place simultaneously, all of whom had conflicting roles and who were constantly bickering with each other. Furthermore, some of the mission staff had such bad relations with Aborigines that the latter often stayed away from the mission until those Europeans either left or were sacked (see Meyer 1890b). The protection aspect of the boss relationship which did exist was nullified early on by Meyer's recruitment for money of young Kuku-Yalanji men to work for a lugger captain at Bloomfield (see Marsh 1890). Also, none of the Europeans were at Bloomfield for enough time to allow stable, long-term relations to be established. Hoerlein was at Bloomfield for the longest time (1890-1901), and there is some evidence that something akin to a normal 'boss' relationship was beginning to develop between himself and the remaining Aborigines towards the end of his time at Bloomfield:

> When I sold the sewing machine and the wardrobe, the blacks realised I am going to leave them. They all started to cry and urge and press me to stay on. They said: 'If you go, then we shall also leave this place and we will take all the girls with us, to the mountains. We have entrusted them to you, but they are not staying for a new master.' They are very attached to me (Hoerlein 1900c).

Early the next year Hoerlein reports that the Aborigines were "beseeching" him to stay and were "promising all they can" (Hoerlein 1901b). And in April of 1901 Hoerlein reports that he "feels duty bound to stay with the female residents of the mission station, as they will otherwise be forced to go bush. For the first time my charges are going

hungry! All the natives have come to the church service although everyone knows that no food can be made available after the ceremony" (Hoerlein 1901a).

For better or for worse, however, throughout the mission's life, there was no real chance for the missionaries to undertake 'real' mission work. Meyer wrote that he was "Too preoccupied with the farm work to do all the mission work full justice" (Meyer 1890e). The missionaries were always too busy making the mission into a commercial venture, and success was measured almost wholly in these terms. The entire endeavour ended up being an exercise in how well church-associated whites could run a farm using Aboriginal labour paid for by the government with rations. Apart from their labour then, Aborigines became, in a sense, irrelevant to the mission. Much less becoming good bosses, the missionaries were unwilling or unable to come to terms with Aborigines in any meaningful way.

VII.5 The end of the mission and its camp.

The camp attached to the Bloomfield mission had ceased to be a major residential site for Kuku-Yalanji by at least the mid-1890s. The camp disappeared altogether when the mission finally closed in 1902 "owing to the meagre results and unsatisfactory management so far as the Aboriginals were concerned" (Roth 1902:1146). As we have seen above, the mission had numerous practical problems: a shortage of funds, staff troubles, unsuitable land and problems with other settlers. There were also the difficulties created by a conflict of role expectations between Kuku-Yalanji and the missionaries. More importantly, there were certain structural factors associated with the mission intervention complex and its place within the larger European system based on development capitalism which ensured the mission's failure. I will discuss these at the end of the chapter.

From a Kuku-Yalanji perspective, the mission did have its uses - primarily for food and other resources, protection and as a refuge for young women and for the ill. The missionaries also acted in some instances as useful third parties in disputes. As I have shown above, the mission was based on the assumption that everything had to be centralized and that <u>all</u> Bloomfield Aborigines would come in and stay there. Yet, as with the Annan people and the tin camps, Kuku-Yalanji at

Bloomfield treated the mission as a camp, on a particular estate, and as belonging to particular individuals and a group who had significant primary rights there. There were real disadvantages in persons not closely related to such a group ever being at the mission camp. The mission was thus destined to have no more than several dozen people on any sustained basis. Even this arrangement (of a normal camp at the mission) could not last. This was due primarily to difficulties involving the missionaries themselves. These difficulties prevented articulation between the Aboriginal and European systems which elsewhere in SECYP had resulted in the maintenance of the former; the missionaries were not good bosses.

VII.6 The camp at Wayalwayal.

If the mission only attracted a relatively small proportion of the Aborigines in the Bloomfield region, the question arises as to where the rest of them were, and also where the mission-associated Aborigines went when they left the mission. The missionaries complained very early on about 'their' Aborigines (i.e. any at Bloomfield) camping near and utilising other Europeans in the area.

> A group of [Aborigines], especially the men, has not been willing to do any work for us [at the mission]. They either spend their time loafing around the camp or they [go] out to work for some of the settlers along the river bank (Meyer 1889c).

> Many of the blacks don't come to work at all: they either go hunting, or they just mope about the camp, or they go walk-about, just to see whether they can't pick up something or other (food, clothing or other gear) somewhere else (Koch 1889).

The government land ranger, Byers, noted in 1892 for Bloomfield that "there are more blacks fed by the settlers on the river than are fed at the mission station" (Byers 1892). The secretary of the Cooktown Chamber of Commerce, too, in the application protesting against the Bloomfield Aboriginal reserve, argued that:

> The blacks roam at will amongst the selectors, obtaining employment at many of these and depending upon this for subsistence to a far greater extent than upon their reservation which they only traverse on occasional hunting excursions.[7]

Le Souef, the naturalist who visited Bloomfield in 1893, commented that the Aborigines there were ". . . perfectly safe to be with. They do a little work now and again for the settlers or tin miners, who are scattered throughout the country" (Le Souef 1894:27). Meston (1896:1208) and Roth (1903a:467) also comment on the use by Aborigines of white settlements other than the mission at Bloomfield.

Given these comments, there was clearly a considerable movement of Aborigines around the entire Bloomfield region in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It appears at first that this movement was random or opportunistic, that Aborigines were going and camping wherever they could obtain food.[8] I want to demonstrate in this next case study that this was not so, and that Kuku-Yalanji use of settlers elsewhere in the Bloomfield area was in line with the Annan and mission examples. They were attempts to establish and/or maintain permanent camps attached to permanent, appropriate European individuals by Aborigines with an existing relationship to the land upon which that European had settled. This case study is of Wayalwayal, the Kuku-Yalanji camp at Wyalla, the property of the Hislop family at Wyalla Plains. The camp was more or less concurrent with the Bloomfield River Mission period (1886-1900) and this example reveals more clearly Kuku-Yalanji notions of the good European boss. It also demonstrates again the negative effects for Kuku-Yalanji of the state's intervention into a mutually satisfactory arrangement between certain Aborigines and certain Europeans.

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7. Letter to Lands Minister 14/7/1891 #14917. Queensland Department of Public Lands. File 86-69.

8. This is also the impression one gains from the descriptions of some historians. Loos (1982:160-161), for instance, says that while Aborigines were adapting to the presence of the Europeans, it was largely the result of disintegration of their own way of life.

VII.7 The camp, its composition and functions.

George Hislop had been a magistrate and wealthy squatter from northern South Australia who had "ruined himself by his generosity" (Chester 1897). With his remaining capital he bought several thousand acres of land at Bloomfield in the mid-1880s. Hislop intended to grow sugar, tobacco and tropical fruits, but labour problems and high transport costs forced him to switch to cattle by about 1890. By 1897 he had retired to Sydney and Wyalla Station (the family property at Bloomfield) was left in the hands of his sons and daughters. The central person of relevance here is Robert Hislop, who ran the property until about 1920. From the turn of the century on it scarcely supported the family much less made a profit. After World War One, Hislop became a tin-scratcher until he left the area in 1937.

It appears that a large and permanent Aboriginal camp developed at Wyalla soon after the Hislops' arrival. Missionary Rechner of the Lutheran Church in South Australia visited Bloomfield in 1890 and reported a large Aboriginal camp on Hislop's land (Rechner 1890b). Ellis Rowan, the flower illustrator and writer, visited Bloomfield in 1892 and stayed for several weeks with the Hislops. She describes the camp near the Hislop's homestead.

> The blacks had formed their camp on the banks of the river under the shadow of the tall jungle trees, and we were greeted on our arrival by a chorus of barking curs. It was a typical scene of wild native life, - the rough gunyahs of leaves and boughs, the flickering light of the fires, and the weird forms of the natives as they passed to and fro . . . [An old woman] was finishing a grass bag, splitting the canes with her teeth as she worked it. Two large wallabis [sic] were swung in a tree, and a plentiful supply of yams and zamia nuts were lying scattered about in dilly bags. Two mummified babies fastened up in bark were doing duty as pillows inside one of the huts, and the indefinable mixture of smells was too much for our olfactory nerves and soon drove us off (Rowan 1912:125-6; see also pp. 118-9).

Le Souef, who was also a guest of the Hislops at Wyalla in 1893 noted "some natives encamped in the scrub not far off" (1894:27). (See Plate VIII). Le Souef drew his guides from the Wyalla camp for his expeditions to Mt. Peter Botte, the Hope Islands and Cedar Bay (see Le Souef 1896; 1897). He also traded clothes and tobacco to them for 'curios'.

In 1897 George Hislop notified the Police Magistrate in Cooktown that they had had over the previous six months, an average of 48 Aborigines 'in camp' (G. Hislop 1897a). Roth in February 1898 reported that there were 37 Aborigines 'attached to' the Wyalla property: "12 adult males, 14 females, 5 young boys and 6 girls" (Roth 1898a:3).

For at least eight or nine years there was thus a large permanent camp associated with the Hislop family and their property at Wyalla. I want next to look at how this camp came about, its composition, the economic base of its residents and their relationship with the Hislops. The Wyalla camp had disappeared by World War One. In 1979 only the foundations of the homestead remained and only a handful of descendants of those camp members survive today at Bloomfield. I will suggest that the rise and fall of the camp is best explained as part of the articulation processes which I have described in the previous case studies.

Recent mapping work with Kuku-Yalanji people whose parents and other relatives knew the Wyalla camp, shows that the camp was located at a site known as Banjalji. These informants maintain that, according to their relatives, the camp existed prior to European arrival, and was used as a major cycad processing site. The camps were within the estate known as Wayalwayal. The focal person at the Wyalla camp during its heyday was Wawu-Romeo,[9] a man of the Wayalwayalwarra clan. Wawu-Romeo's son, not surprisingly, was called Alecky Hislop (see Plate IX). He worked for the Hislops for many years and eventually held for a time one of the 'plum' jobs: driving the springless dray to Ayton and back (see Rowan 1912:119). This job was valued because it was one of high status not only for the individual involved, but also for his group. It represented a close, trusted relationship with a boss. It also meant a

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9. This is the name given the man after his death. It means that he died at Mt. Romeo and his spirit dwells there. No one today knows the man's bush name before his death.

Plate VIII *Wayu'wayu'l* camp, Wyalla Plains, early 1890s. (Photograph reproduced from Le Souef n.d.)

Plate IX Alecky Hislop of *Wayabagal*, early 1890s. (Photograph reproduced from Le Souef n.d.)

certain degree of control over access by other Aborigines to good quick transport to and from the river. Informants today describe the jealousy of other Aborigines in the camp who were not given ready access to this transport.

Other persons whom present-day Kuku-Yalanji know to have lived at the Banjalji camp during 'Hislop-time' include Kurranji ('cassowary'), an old lady with some form of birth defect which gave her a humped back, large stomach and very thin wobbly legs. Le Souef (1897:27-28) gives a description of her and a story about her, and there is a photograph of her in his book Wild Life in Australia (Le Souef n.d.). She was a Balabaywarra person from the coastal estate adjacent to Wyalla Plains. Other residents of the Wyalla camps included Julkurwarra people (the estate in from Rattlesnake Point) and Yalmbawarra from the Mt. Annie area. Rowan also mentions (1912:126) that she met 'Blucher' and his wife 'Rosie' at the Wyalla camp. Bluja, mentioned in Chapter VI, was a Kunawarra man from Shipton's Flat, just over the range. Nyambilnyambil (Mt. Romeo and Grasstree) people also visited the camp. Roth (1898a) mentions that it is the 'local tribe' which is encamped on Hislop's land. Elsewhere (1910a:92), he notes: "Wyalla, locally known as wai-al-al is regarded as a head camp; it is the resting place for natives from Ku-na (Mt. Finlayson, Mt. Finnegan), from Wu-lu-mu-pan (a tract north of Bauer's Gap), from Yalmba (the district between Wyalla north-eastwards from the sea)." On the evidence available, the composition of the camp thus consisted of Aborigines belonging to the estate on which the European property was situated, along with people from adjacent estates.

When Wyalla was a profitable enterprise, that is up until about 1893, Aborigines were employed and paid in goods. Roth (1898a:3) noted: "When work was doing, the whole tribe [=camp] used to be fed by Hislop, their labour being paid for in tucker and tobacco." In 1896 and 1897 Aborigines were also given rations paid for by a government grant made to Hislop (see Roth 1898a). Work done by Aboriginal men in the early days included cane-loading, wood chopping and general labour around the property and homestead. Domestic work was done by several Aboriginal women. Rowan (1912:113) notes that at Wyalla: "Bread, butter, everything they use is made on the place; the only help they have is from the native girls who take it in turns to come up on different days" (see also p. 118). George Hislop, writing to the Home Secretary in 1897, stated that:

> We find there is great jealousy amongst the Blacks as to the privilege of working about the house, and in order to dispel this we have come to an understanding with them by which only two gins [Aboriginal women] and one boy [adult Aboriginal man] come up every morning. They take it turn about and settle the order amongst themselves. The ones who come, get their three meals at the house and about three pounds of flour, some tobacco and sometimes some sugar to take back with them to the camp, generally about six or seven in the evening. When we were serving out Government rations these were generally given out only to the older blacks and sick in families. The strong able young blacks hardly ever got any directly but no doubt the others shared it with them in the camp (G. Hislop 1897a).

As with the Annan and mission camps, good access to primary European foodstuffs was an important attraction for Aborigines at Wyalla. George Hislop commented that "since we gave out even [a] small dole of food not a single miner's camp in the district near here has been robbed and before that the complaints were constant of tents cleared of flour, sugar and tea" (G. Hislop 1897a). Tobacco was also an important item in which Aborigines were interested.

Not all settlers in SECYP agreed with Hislop on the beneficial effects of the ration system and argued that Blacks were exploiting Europeans with it. Mr. F. Osbourne from the Upper Daintree area wrote to the Under Colonial Secretary complaining that:

> The dole of Government rations . . . has the effect of bringing other blacks from a considerable distance in the interior and concentrating them in numbers among the selections to the <u>great annoyance</u> of the selectors . . . they are most insolent and destructive; pilfering fruit and produce, worrying the cattle, cutting fencing wire to make spears and otherwise doing damage to property . . . It is patent to any observer of these aborigines that they do not require the food given them as they are as fat and sleek as it is possible for them to be and appear to spend most of their time lolling on the sand beaches of the river or bathing in

> its waters. As the rations are only enough to feed them for 1 day in the week, it is obvious that if they can do without them for 6 days they can for 7. If the rations were not distributed there would not be a fifth of the blacks hanging about the selections as they have an immense area of hunting country . . . absolutely unsettled, unstocked and untouched by white men (Osbourne 1893).

It was not only access to food and other resources that residence at Hislop's provided. As with the mission, the camp was used as a permanent place for ill, elderly and immobile Aborigines. In response to another settler's comments on the "miserable tribe that hangs about the Hislop's home" (Collins 1897), George Hislop noted that it was indeed accurate to describe "the blacks that camp near us as 'miserable' simply because the sick, the lame, the halt and the blind amongst the blacks of the district look upon our place as a sort of refuge where they are sure of the best attention we can give them and had we the means they would have much more than they get now" (G. Hislop 1897b).

Aborigines also viewed Hislop's as a kind of safe introduction to the 'wonders' of European society. A Kuku-Nyungkul speaker, John Walker, whose uncle was at Hislop's, describes this aspect:

> That old Hislop been there. Nyulu ['he'] been break'em in bama [Aboriginal people]. Show'em how to make damper. 'Yala damba dingka.' ['Make it like this'.] That bama stand right around, you know; he don't know what that mayi ['food']. All right. He cook'em. Show'em how to cook'em: 'Cook'em this way.' All right. Cook'em. 'Eat'em now!' He [the Aborigines] smell him first, that damper. 'Ah, he juji!' ['poison'] He talkin' [to] himself: 'Jujinga ngana wulaymanal!' ['It might kill us!'] 'Kari, nyulu waybalwaybal been eat'em that mayi.' ['No, those white fellows ate it.'] See, that way. Eat him up. Well, he been start eat him then.
>
> All right. Take him down the river, some 'nother fella. Take him down the river, give him soap. 'Wash him clothes, take a clothes and wash him.' All right, 'nother

fella look: 'Oh, this one [is] fat!' He didn't know that [was] soap! 'Oh, this one fat.' He been lick him like that, make him hot la fire: 'Oh, wandul!' [animal fat]. He reckon fat! [laughs].

Get a match then. You know, make'a fire. Bama run away. Think something might be go off. 'He might shoot us!' Those bama, run away, see. Tell'em: 'No more! He make'a fire. You watch him now.' He get a leaf and grass and light him. He [It is] like that stick we fellas use. He like'a matches. Oh, he been teach'em lot there! Oh, bama big mob there, before!

The protection aspect of the Wyalla camp was also recognized by Kuku-Yalanji people. In the 1970s they said that Hislop "been 'block'em buliman ['police'] from send away" [i.e. Hislop prevented police from removing Aborigines camped (or normally resident) at his place, by taking responsibility for them. On the other hand, sometimes Hislop co-operated with the police in obtaining particular Aborigines (see later)]. Hislop also stopped some of the European men in the area from taking sexual liberties with Wyalla camp women (see later). Older Kuku-Yalanji described Wyalla to me as 'a bit of a mission'[10] and Hislop himself as 'half-missionary'. In other words, Wyalla, like the mission, was seen as a place whose existence was largely defined by Aborigines being there. Both places were ones of safety for certain Aborigines from both European and Aboriginal enemies; and they were places where access to valued goods was almost assured. Similarly, Hislop, in so far as he performed the role of maintaining this place, was like a missionary. It is significant, though, that people term him as only a 'half-missionary'. This was partly because he did not do all the things the missionaries did (e.g. preach Christianity). Primarily, though, it was because Hislop was more of a real boss in Kuku-Yalanji terms than the actual missionaries.

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10. Today any large settlement of Aborigines in SECYP can be termed by Aborigines a 'mission' whether or not it has anything to do with a church.

VII. 8 Hislop as boss.

The Wyalla camp had many of the features of the mission camp. It was used seasonally; it was used as a refuge for protection and also by those unable to travel; it was utilised to obtain European goods; it contained well-predisposed (or at least temperate) Europeans. The major differences between Wyalla and the mission were that Wyalla had a reasonably steady resident Aboriginal population, and it was used on a permanent basis, not only by women and the young, but also by adult men for the entire period of the camp's existence. The reasons for these differences include the different intervention complexes represented by the mission and the enterprises in which the Hislops participated. Another significant factor though, is that Robert Hislop fulfilled the role of boss for the Wyalla camp Aborigines probably better than any other European in all of SECYP. Hislop provided protection from the depredations of the beche-de-mer men, and from other local Europeans. He played a major role in reporting and testifying in the case of Missionary Meyer's sale of Kuku-Yalanji men to the boat captains.[11] A.J. Traill, manager of the sugar plantation near Wyalla until 1892, wrote that "In several cases [Robert Hislop] successfully interfered to protect the gins from the labourers on the plantation; the simple fact that they used to damn Bertie for blocking them, in their designs on the gins, showed this clearly enough" (Traill 1897). Hislop provided steady access to European goods. He and his family were long-term permanent residents of one place. At Wyalla, however, rather than (or perhaps as well as) using the younger men as intermediaries as on the Annan, the Kuku-Yalanji at Wayalwayal incorporated Hislop himself.

In Men of the Jungle, Idriess (1934:65-6) describes Hislop. He notes that at Wyalla Plains:

> A white man has led [the Aborigines] in battle. Hundreds of warriors, ochred and befeathered, brandishing their huge, painted shields, stamping the earth in the growing frenzy of fight, have roared their war-cry behind that haranguing chief who led them on to the wildest of the wild. He has sat as chief in their councils, has taken the lead in their

11. See V.6.2; also G. Hislop (1897); K. Evans (1972).

> corroborees, their hunts, their life; he has worn the eagle-hawk feather; and a belt of human hair has adorned his savage thighs. He has sat within the gunyahs of the people, has sung by their campfires, has been one of them. Well-educated man, yet chief of a group of tribes, with the power of life and death in his hands . . .

In his later work, The Tin-Scratchers, Idriess elaborates. He describes a visit to Wyalla with two friends:

> Bert Hislop welcomed us with quiet cordiality. To look at this slightly built, highly educated and courteously reserved white man, no one in the world would dream that he was the acknowledged 'King' of three virile tribes of blacks, one of the most powerful 'chiefs' in the Peninsula. He had led in their councils in peace and war . . . he had taken pride of place in the wildest corroborees. What an enthralling book this living Jekyll and Hyde could have written, the cream of civilized culture[12] merging so naturally into the rawest primitive! He could also have written an ethnological tribal history . . .
>
> Bert Hislop grew up there in the dreamy beauty of Wyalla Plain, jungle mountains and lovely river. And the aboriginal children of three tribes were his playmates, then mates in roaming the tribal lands. He saw his growing mates go through those so strict initiations to manhood; and, to prove the was as good a warrior as they, he went through the ceremonies with them. Well before manhood he held his own place in the war dances. And his first really big adventure was to be the leader of a raiding party (Idriess 1980 [1959]:161-2).

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12. Idriess notes that Hislop's parents were of "aristocratic British stock" (p. 161), and describes the Hislops "insisting on evening dress for dinner, with the war songs of the aborigines barely a hundred yards away. Rowan (1912:112) describes the Hislop house as being "most civilised" with rooms full of shelves of books and with a piano.

Whether or not Hislop participated in events at Wyalla exactly as Idriess so floridly described, I cannot confirm from other data. Nevertheless, there are a number of other sources that do attest to Hislop's knowledge of the Kuku-Yalanji language and culture. As I mentioned in Chapter I, Roth relied on Hislop for much of his ethnographic data on the Bloomfield region. In a letter in 1898, Roth says: "There is no doubt that young Hislop knows a great deal concerning the habits, customs, etc. of the local blacks, and I trust to obtain a deal of scientific information from him" (Roth 1898e). In a later report to the Commissioner of Police, Roth, in a section entitled 'Hislop', states:

> I spent two days and two nights at Wyalla, and have obtained most valuable notes on the habits and customs of the Bloomfield River aboriginals . . . [Hislop] is an enthusiast in anthropology so far as it relates to the local aborigines, does not look too strong physically and has to wear spectacles. At any rate, he is a man of honour . . . His linguistic attainments are marvelous. I have heard him myself keeping up an animated conversation. His knowledge of the habits and customs of the aboriginals [here] is phenomenal (Roth 1898a).

There is no doubt, either, that Hislop had considerable powers of influence over the Aborigines camped at Wyalla. Ellis Rowan noted that Hislop "has always been a friend to the natives [and] can do anything with them" (1912:114). Chester, the Cooktown Police Magistrate, stated in 1897 that Hislop "speaks the aboriginal language and has considerable influence over them" (Chester 1897). This influence extended to police matters as well. Hislop's father commented: "I may . . . mention that several times my son has been able to arrest for the police, boys who have been wanted, merely by getting the other blacks to give them up to him" (G. Hislop 1897b). Traill, the plantation manager, wrote in a letter to George Hislop:

> I must say after having lived on the Bloomfield for more than two years that you and Bertie managed those unruly blackfellows remarkably well, particularly the latter who

> seemed to have very great influence with them, and he certainly got a fair amount of work out of them . . . (Traill 1897).

Fifteen of the European residents of Bloomfield, in a petition defending Robert Hislop against claims by one other settler that Hislop had no influence over the Aborigines at Wyalla, agreed with Traill's assessment: "In our opinion there is no man in the Bloomfield District who has had more experience, and who is better qualified to [have] control of the Bloomfield blacks than Robert Hislop."[13]

VII.9 The end of Wayalwayal and of Wyalla.

Hislop's 'incorporation' into the Wyalla mob, and his position of influence, were consolidated by an action which was to be a significant factor in his eventual downfall and the subsequent breakup of the Wyalla camp. Sometime in the early 1890s, Hislop became 'married' to a Wayalwayalwarra woman named Jeannie and she bore him three children. George Hislop, in a letter to the Home Secretary, commented on this:

> My son has a black girl as his wife. She and her children stay in rooms adjoining our house. They have been and are cared for by myself and daughter . . . I would not for a moment say that I like the connection but still I know that he and she are true to each other and are an example to many white couples in that respect. My son has always wanted to go through some form that would render the marriage as legal under British law as he considers it binding under moral law but I have been disinclined to consent on the ground of the marriage ceremony being a mere farce in the case of this district, but now on account of the children I will withdraw all opposition if it can be shown that a legal marriage is possible. There is always a Blacks' camp within sight of our house somewhere, but my son's children and their mother are never there (G. Hislop 1897b).

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13. Residents of Bloomfield River to Home Sec. 29/11/97 #16399 Col/139 Q.S.A.

The Bloomfield residents also noted that Hislop: ". . . feeds, clothes and looks after the children and their mother at his own expense, not like the majority [of white settlers] here, who allow [their 'half-caste' children] to run wild, unacknowledged, and uncared for at the expense of the Government."[14]

However, this fact was used as the basis for a campaign against Hislop, waged, in the first instance, by at least one settler in the Bloomfield area and the Bloomfield Mission itself. The mission had always been jealous of Hislop's capacity to attract Aborigines to Wyalla. They also suspected George Hislop of aiding in the government's reduction of the mission's 'Hunting Reserve' (see Hoerlein 1891b; Rechner 1891). William Collins was a local settler whom the Police Magistrate at Cooktown termed "the mouthpiece of the Bloomfield Mission" (Chester 1897). He had had a quarrel over business matters with George Hislop. In 1896, with the mission's Aboriginal population declining and with Hislop attracting steady numbers, the police recommended that rations be distributed from the Hislop property. This seemed to provide the impetus for Collins (with the support of the mission) to launch an attack on the Hislops. Collins' letter to the Home Secretary which initiated the conflict read, in part, as follows:

> I and many other residents of the Bloomfield river respectfully wish to draw your attention to what we look upon as a gross injustice to the Public as well as to the Aboriginals of this Place. Viz., The supplying of money to be spent for the Benefit of the Blacks by any of the Settlers more particularly such men as the Hislops who has no controll [sic] whatever over the Blacks; It is well known here that in the miserable Tribe that hangs about the Hislop's Home there are three half-cast [sic] children and that Robert Hislop is the father of them. That alone should be sufficient to prevent them from having the handling of any money granted by the Government for the Benefit of the Blacks.

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14. Petition to Home Sec. 29/11/97 #16399 Col/139 Q.S.A. See also Idries (1980 [1959]:162).

> People here wonder how it is that Public Money is ever given to the Hislops to get food for the Blacks and what is more we never can hear of the food or tobacco being given to any but the few Blacks who work about the Hislops Home . . .
>
> There is a Mission Station here which is doing good work by way of civilizing the Blacks and learning them to work at something that will help to save them but it is hard to make Headway with the Blacks when the settlers coax them away from the Mission Station just at the time when they are most wanted: the Mission people have several acres of coffee growing and as that is very suitable work for the Blacks, I and many others think that all the money granted for the Benefit of the Blacks in the Neighbourhood of the Bloomfield should be handed over to the Mission People . . . I can safely say it is a shame that such a man as Robert Hislop should have the handling of any aid that is granted to the Blacks . . . I am convinced it is a bad Plan to give the control of Aboriginals to any unmarried man especially to one who is already the father of half castes from an Aboriginal woman (Collins 1897).

As it turned out nearly everything in Collins' letter was false or distorted. Despite the fact that Collins was clearly looking after his own interests (see Roth 1898a:4) and despite strong letters of support for Hislop by the Cooktown Police Magistrate and from fifteen Bloomfield residents (virtually all the major European land holders,[15] the £5 monthly rations grant was terminated by the government at the end of August 1897 (see G. Hislop 1897c). This pulled the rug out from under an already economically weak enterprise and meant that Hislop could not continue to support the Wyalla camp.

The arrangement at Wyalla seemed a satisfactory one to both the Hislops and the Aborigines: the former got work done and the latter got protection, food and goods and were able to live on their own land in a self-selected group. Why then did the government undertake action to

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15. See Chester (1897); also Residents of Bloomfield River to Home Sec. 29/11/97 #16399 Col/139 Q.S.A.

subvert such a seemingly successful model of settler/Aboriginal relations? The answer lies partly with the views of the two men who were then determining the form and substance of Aboriginal policy and legislation in Queensland: Archibald Meston and Walter E. Roth. The basis of their policy has already been mentioned: centralization and control of Aborigines. When Roth visited Wyalla in February of 1898, he informed Hislop that supply of food to blacks when necessary would from then on be carried out by the police at Ayton. He also said that Hislop should send the remaining Aborigines at Wyalla up to the mission station (Roth 1898a). Interestingly, the Aborigines here were well aware of this centralization policy. While at Wyalla, Roth noted: "The blacks here had all been under the impression that I was going to shift them to a Reserve" (1898a:4). On this same trip Roth found that the Aborigines at the nearby Banabila camp (see Chapter VIII) were also "all very glad to hear that they were not to be taken away anywhere" (p. 2). As for Hislop's 'domestic relations', Roth was not overly disapproving: "Taking all in all, I think he is to be pitied rather than blamed. At any rate, he is a man of honour in so far that, unlike many another he does his best for his three half caste children whom his sister, under the same roof, is looking after and caring for" (p. 4). Nevertheless, Roth noted approvingly that Hislop had assured him "that he has given up all marital relations with their true blooded mother" (p. 4).

Meston was much more explicit about both issues. In a report at the beginning of 1897, Meston stated that "the police office and the mission station are both only an hour and a half's walk from Hislop's place, and blacks could easily go to one or the other if they really were in need of food. There is not the slightest necessity whatever for a new food station on the Bloomfield, and if there were it should, for more than one reason, be under the direct control of the local police" (Meston 1897a). And in a later report:

> . . . if any extra food is to be distributed or medicine served to sick blacks on the Bloomfield, the control should be given to the missionaries, or Constable Whelan [at Ayton], and not to a private selector . . . (Meston 1897b).

Meston's assumption was firstly that Aborigines could (or should) go anywhere to live and could get food from anyone. (He also assumed,

without justification, that getting food was the main reason for Aboriginal residence there). Meston failed totally to see the central importance of intensely localised and groupistic factors in Kuku-Yalanji society. This was reflected, too, in his (and the government's in general) ready willingness to ship Aborigines off to settlements up to 1200 km away, without any recognition of the socio-cultural and sentimental attachments of people to land.[16] Nor did Meston recognize that Kuku-Yalanji desired permanent stable relationships with particular Europeans. Secondly, the assumption was made that the mission reserve had been gazetted for Aboriginal usage and that was the land they were supposed to use. Thus they should all congregate there under the control of the missionaries, and the odd ones which did not were to be 'cared for' by the police. Meston did not understand that this congregating meant for most people, living on someone else's land and thus living under their sway (as well as under that of the missionaries). These assumptions also led to the closing down at about the same time of two other permanent Aboriginal camps associated with European selectors in SECYP: James Earl's Butcher's Hill Station on the Upper Laura River and Masterton's 'Chestnuts' selection on the Upper Daintree River.

The matter that clinched Meston's determination to dissolve the Wyalla camp was Hislop's relationship with his Aboriginal 'wife' and their children. Regardless of the permanency of the relationship and Hislop's care of the woman and children, Meston was totally against it. In a letter to the Under Secretary of the Home Secretary's Office dated February 1897, Meston could not even bring himself to mention it, but

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16. It is clear that, at least later, the government was aware of the effects of removals on Aborigines. King, Roth's successor as Northern Protector, stated in his Annual Report for 1904: "I must say that this practice of deporting ['incorigibles'] has a most deterring effect on the blacks [rather] than sending them to gaol, as above all people in the world there are none so attached to their native country as the Australian blacks." Roth himself had had doubts about the morality of the practice. He also was aware of the problems created by placing Aboriginal individuals and families into settlements of alien groups. Nevertheless, he felt that removal was ultimately justified in certain cases (see Roth 1902:18-19).

instead he darkly noted: "If required I can give the Home Secretary one very conclusive reason against this money being expended in the manner suggested" (Meston 1897a) (i.e. a rations grant being given to Hislop). Meston elaborated in a report at the end of 1897:

> In accordance with a request of Home Secretary in his memo of 30th November I have to say that Mr. Hislop junior, under whose control the rations would be distributed, has been for some years cohabiting with aboriginal women,[17] one of whom has borne three half caste children, whose paternity is admitted by Mr. Hislop himself . . . Any white man who cohabits with gins loses at once all respect he may have previously received from the blacks. In their estimation he falls not only to their level but far below it. They really regard him with contempt however much apparent friendship they may profess from interested motives. Therefore it is not desirable that the blacks should be encouraged to assemble and to receive Government rations from Mr. Hislop . . . or that his relationship with the gins should receive any countenance whatever from the Home Secretary. The effect on blacks and whites would be equally bad . . . Control [of rations] should be given to the Missionaries, or [the police], and not to a private selector, especially one addicted to familiarity with the aboriginal women (Meston 1897b).

The campaign against Hislop and his camp was finally successful and by mid-1898 Hislop had only a handful of ill and lame Aborigines on his property. Roth noted, too, the economic difficulties of the place: "Wyalla indeed seems to be going to rack and ruin, and the family is apparently terribly hard up" (1898a:3). Sometime around the turn of the

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17. Meston had no evidence whatsoever that Hislop had lived with other Aboriginal women.

century Hislop's wife, Jeannie, left him[18] for a Kangkijiwarra man who later lived at a new camp which was developing at Jajikal near Ayton, eight km south of Wyalla.

VII.10 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have described two cases of Aboriginal-European contact which both occurred in the late nineteenth century in the Bloomfield River area. These were the Bloomfield Mission and Wyalla Plains. In both cases the interaction pattern described in Chapter VI developed: camps appeared containing Kuku-Yalanji individuals who were owners of the estate on which the European activity was situated along with other Aborigines from the surrounding estate clusters. However, the mission and Wyalla represented very different intervention complexes. The mission operated as an active agent intervening in Kuku-Yalanji lives, whereas at Wyalla it was primarily only the labour which was of interest to the Europeans (although here it seems there was also a notion of responsibility for Aboriginal welfare). It was partly for these reasons that after some four or five years the camp at the mission was reduced to a refuge for the old, young and ill Aborigines, while the one at Wyalla was maintained as a normal Kuku-Yalanji camp similar to those on the Annan. Another major factor which I have discussed was the failure of the missionaries to operate as bosses in the manner which Aborigines expected. Robert Hislop of Wyalla, on the other hand, was successfully incorporated into the social system of the Wayalwayalwarra and became their boss.

By 1902 both camps were gone. In the case of the mission, this was due to some of the practical problems which I have outlined in this chapter. However, with both Wyalla and the mission there were certain structural problems which played a large part in the demise of the camps. State intervention was also a major factor in these problems. Before finishing this chapter I want to look at some of these.

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18. One Kuku-Yalanji man in 1977 told me that Hislop actually had a fight with the other man, called Kalkajurrangu, over Jeannie. The latter won and Hislop immediately left the area to go tin-scratching at Mt. Finnigan. The loss of Hislop's power base and his role and status as boss may have also been a factor in the break-up.

As I discussed in V.7, government policy on Aborigines was primarily concerned with centralization and control. This policy was based on a number of implicit goals. The aim of centralization was to solve the problems of Aborigines in 'unsupervised' situations. Centralization made the administration of programmes allegedly for Aboriginal benefit much easier to undertake. What this actually meant (and this is borne out by a number of official statements at the time) was that centralization on a reserve community brought about not only control of Aborigines, but also their removal from land needed for development purposes. Control of Kuku-Yalanji meant control of their movements. More generally, it meant the subordination of the Kuku-Yalanji social system to the requirements of the European system and ultimately its total absorption into the broader European-dominated society. The dependence of administrators on Aboriginal labour for their self-sufficiency programmes also meant, in theory, Aborigines working to solve their own problems and in turn easing the government's dilemma with respect to conflicting development and welfare concerns. Control of Aboriginal movement came with the campaign to stop their seasonal movements, which also had the effect of removing them from the land. It also meant a removal of Aborigines from the public sphere through the active attempts to get small localised groups of Aborigines out from under the control of individual settlers (see next sections). This effectively ended the arrangements which had acted to conserve and reinforce aspects of the Kuku-Yalanji system. Kuku-Yalanji were thus condemned, largely through the role of the state, to reserve community life as a kind of training centre in isolation, or in fact, as a kind of jail. Indeed, Missionary Hoerlein refers to the Bloomfield Aborigines in his charge as 'station inmates' (Hoerlein 1900d).

However, the development of policies of centralization and economic self-sufficiency for the reserve settlements had not been based on any knowledge of the Aboriginal system involved nor on any 'rational' economic planning. The assumption was made that Aborigines were now supposed to recognize all Bloomfield land as European private property, and that Aborigines were only supposed to use, for any purpose, reserve land. There was no notion of Aborigines owning the land themselves, in traditional terms or in a Western legal sense. Nor was there any recognition of the nature of Aboriginal local group organization. The intensely localised, fragmented nature of Kuku-Yalanji society meant

that it was impossible to bring together in one place for any length of time groups associated with other country. In addition, as we have seen, centralization was meant to stop Kuku-Yalanji 'walkabouts'. Yet the meagre government funding to the mission for rations assumed (or at least required) alternative sources of food for Aborigines. In other words, they had to continue obtaining some bush resources. Self-sufficiency of a settlement of any kind requires worthwhile land, yet the mission was sited (in a sense, deliberately) on the worst land in the Bloomfield valley (and the settlers even complained about this). The basis on which the land was granted as reserve land was that it was not immediately required for European development. While striving for self-sufficiency, the poor quality of the soil, the terrain and the lack of secure tenure of the mission land all ensured economic failure and required that the Aborigines continue with alternative economic arrangements.

The first Bloomfield mission and the state intervention in the Wyalla case demonstrate the hidden logic of Aboriginal policy in a frontier area such as Bloomfield:

(i) The real aim was to facilitate (or at least not hinder) the 'natural' development of land and resources;

(ii) Centralization of Aborigines on presently unusable land would help achieve this aim with minimal violence;

(iii) Self-sufficiency of the reserve settlement (through agriculture) would make sure the centralization costs are minimized, if not eliminated;

The latter two aims failed largely because they were based on an externally-derived ideology which the state was attempting to impose as a general solution, but which had as its referent only the general aim of land exploitation and not any local reality.

Chapter VIII: Other Kuku-Yalanji camps.

VIII.1 Introduction.

In this chapter I present material for the final of the historical case studies. I examine four other Kuku-Yalanji camps which existed at various times during the last ninety or so years in the Bloomfield region. As these camps have survived until quite recently, I have more detailed data on their composition than for the previous cases I have described. I thus focus in this chapter on composition, as well as on how the camps made a living, the role of focal Aborigines and the camps' relationships with certain Europeans. Once again the nature of the articulation between Aborigines and Europeans here is the maja/mob :boss/camp relationship and it is this relationship which is the basis of the camps' conservation and existence. After discussing the four cases, I then examine the role of police during this period as agents of the state and look at the inter-relationships between the Bloomfield camps.

VIII.2 Buru (China Camp).

China Camp was the general name for the tin-mining settlement on Roaring Meg Creek (the upper Bloomfield River) about thirty km by track from Ayton (see Figure 5). Mining had occurred here from the mid-1890s when the area was opened up by Robert Baird, a former mayor of Cooktown. Baird had a small freehold property, 'Connemara', just south of China Camp. The major mine, Lode Hill, (run by Lode Hill Tin Mining Company) was opened in 1908. From 1910 to 1914 inclusive, Lode Hill and the two other major claims at China Camp produced an average of 67.6 tons of tin per year (Queensland Department of Mines Annual Reports; see also Table 6 for overall production figures). In 1914 at the height of production of the China Camp mines, there was a total of 45 Europeans there including miners, carters, packers, a blacksmith, several merchants and women and children (see Saint-Smith 1916:174 and Table 7). Most of the miners at China Camp during its heyday were wages men - i.e. they worked as employees of a company rather than running the mine themselves or scratching on their own (see Idriess 1980 [1959]:238 and Saint-Smith 1916:185-202). World War One brought tin production at China Camp, as

elsewhere in SECYP, to a halt and China Camp never recovered as a major tin producing area.

The first mention of Aborigines at this camp is found in Meston's report of 1896. He complained of the Bloomfield Mission's lack of control over the Aborigines and stated that "At the time of my visit all the boys [Aboriginal men] were away in the ranges, or scattered about among the tin miners. Most of them were said to be at the Chinese [sic] Camp, twenty miles away" (Meston 1896:1208). Two years later Roth reported 62 Aborigines at China Camp (1898:1). He also noted that 12 of them were ill (1898:11), and that some of the Aboriginal men had "complain[ed] to Constable Whelan about Coleman, Leslie, Murray and John Waugh cohabiting with their women - indeed, one aboriginal has threatened Coleman's life on this account." Roth also noted a Chinaman, Ah Moo, who had "been reported to the police . . . for getting the blacks to steal tin from the miners", and at least one European who was using Aborigines to monitor police movements.

As on the Annan tin-field, Aborigines at China Camp worked for the miners carrying timber and doing general labouring jobs, as well as working for the carters and merchants in the area. Again as on the Annan, the more settled, self-employed miners had permanent relationships with particular Aboriginal groups. Idriess describes one such relationship at China Camp:

> Johann Skogstrom . . . was a great old battler of [China Camp] . . . [His] camp was a well-built house, pretty with its banana, and pawpaw trees and its little garden. Scandinavian folk make good settlers, for they are content to set to and toil, and soon knock up a home . . . They seem to be at home on the land . . . What interested me, though, [about Skogstrom] was that he could become a 'scrub man', rolling up his blanket and tucker and disappearing for weeks or months in the mountains, prospecting. Trusted natives carried for him, for horses, of course cannot enter the scrub unless a track has been cut for them . . .
>
> Johann, in his quiet way, had delved deeply into the aborigines' mentality. He sympathized with them, understood their happiness and miseries, their faults and their good qualities. He was a staunch friend to them and in return

they would do anything for him (Idriess 1980 [1959]:238-9).

From at least 1896 to about 1925 there existed a large Aboriginal camp at China Camp. The camp was at a site known as Buru, not far from the main European settlement. It was a large camp, varying in size from 50 to 70 people. These people were primarily from four areas: The upper Daintree River region (Julaywarra and Mulujinwarra), the Mt. Boolbun and Ten-Mile Station - the old mission 'hunting reserve' (Muwarra and Bulbanwarra), the lower Bloomfield River - the old mission area (Wujalwujalwarra) and, of course, China Camp itself (Buruwarra). Figure 15 shows in schematic form the estate affiliations of those people living at Buru during this period. A partial reconstruction of the

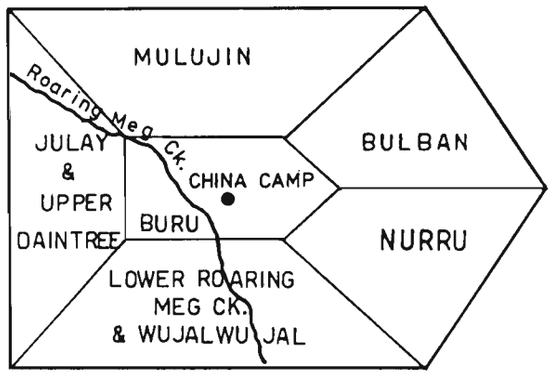

Figure 15 Schematic diagram of estate affiliations of Buruwarra.

composition of this camp as it was in the early 1920s, is shown in Figure 16.[1] There are several points of interest in a reconstruction of the composition of this camp:

(i) The camp was made up of groups of individuals from contiguous estates. These 'factions' - Bloomfield, Boolbun, Daintree and China Camp mobs - apparently lived in separate sections of the main camp. (These were pointed out to me when we visited the site.) However, a number of marriages linked the groups;

(ii) People who had been regularly resident at this camp are today often referred to by Kuku-Yalanji as 'China Camp mob', regardless of their actual estate area;

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1. This was done independently with three different Kuku-Yalanji people - Charlie Collins, Mabel Webb, and Lizzie Big Jack - all of whom lived at China Camp when young.

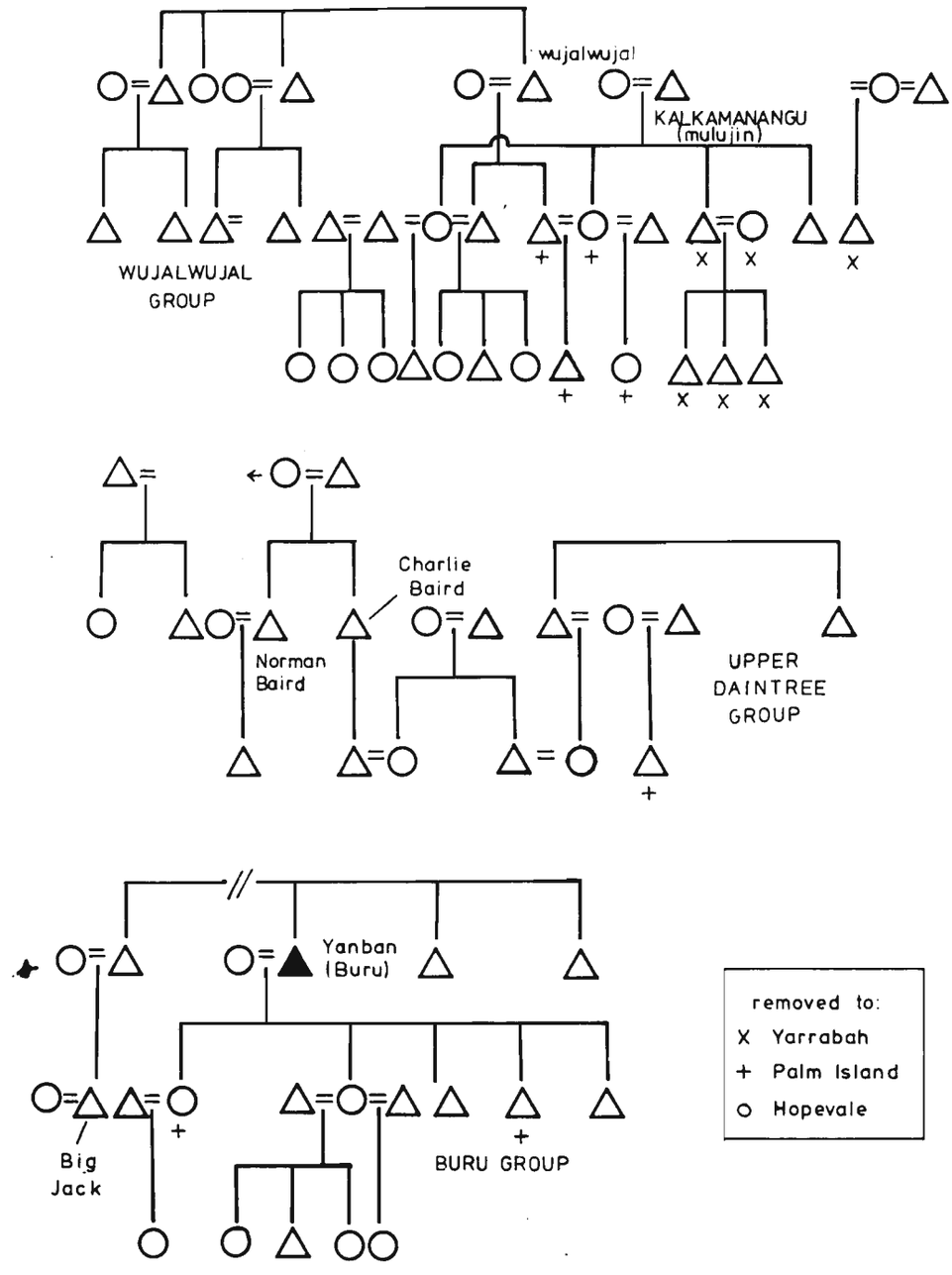

Figure 16 Buru composition, ca. 1920.

(iii) Although made up of several groups, the core of the camp overall was the Buruwarra, the traditional owners of the China Camp estate proper. Out of this latter group, people today speak particularly of old Yanban as the 'proper boss' for that camp. This man had say over marriages, control over dealings with Europeans and settled, or at least stopped, a number of large fights merely by walking into the middle of the mabarr ('fighting ground'). He was also able, in one case, to marshall support from as far away as the lower Daintree (50 km) in a planned attack on a European miner who had abducted a married woman from the camp;
(iv) The Bloomfield group shifted to China Camp in about 1900 when the mission closed;
(v) A large proportion of the China Camp residents were removed by the police. This was done, not coincidentally, at the time (early 1920s) when the mines were closing down and the Europeans were leaving. Those Aborigines remaining went to the Thompson Creek camp on the lower Bloomfield (see next section);
(vi) The role of the 'Baird mob' (a large family with links to both the Daintree and China Camp groups), and in particular, Norman and Charlie Baird, is significant with respect to this camp.
They reveal the important roles played by younger Kuku-Yalanji men in acting as intermediaries between the camps and Europeans.

Norman and Charlie Baird were the sons of Robert Baird, one of the first Europeans into the China Camp area. Their mother was Dinah, a Buruwarra woman from China Camp. Shortly after the birth of Charlie, the younger brother, Dinah went off with a China Camp Aboriginal man and left Norman and Charlie to be raised by Baird. Roth (1898a) refers to how well Baird treated his "two half-caste children". Norman and Charlie, although educated in Western terms and involved in tin-mining from an early age, grew up with close ties (through their mother) to the China Camp Aborigines. Idriess spent several years with the Baird brothers just before World War One and devotes much of his book Men of the Jungle (1934) to them. He describes there how the two operated on the interface between Europeans at China Camp and the Aborigines there. Idriess (1934:158) sums up this relationship by stating that: "The tribesmen ... looked up to the Baird brothers as their wise men and protectors - which indeed they were." However, he notes also how the Baird brothers did not usually deal directly with the

China Camp elders. Idriess describes too the "reserve of the greybeards" [= bingaji or bingabinga], and how they would never come forward and deal with either the Bairds or Europeans. Instead this was left up to a young man named Big Jacky and a group of other men called the Big Six.

> These six were the liaison men between the Baird boys and all the China Camp tribe and its sub-tribes, in constant touch with the groups roaming the bush for many miles around. Big Jacky, heavily cicatrized with the weals of warriorhood, was the undisputed 'boss' in all dealings between Aborigines and whites, though in tribal matters strictly subject to the laws of the old men.(Emphasis added).
>
> Big Jacky, though stand-offish to the whites in a dignified way, was highly regarded by all of them. He and his men [i.e. the Big Six] were the only Aborigines they would trust with firearms. When the stores were overdue these Aborigines were hunters for the [tin] camp . . . (Idriess 1934:158).

As Figure 16 shows, Big Jack - as he was later called - was the 'son' of Yanban, the Buru camp boss. (He was also the husband of my informant Lizzie Big Jack mentioned above. She has corroborated Idriess' description.)

Thus there was at China Camp a permanent large Aboriginal camp attached to a steady, well-producing tin mine area with permanent Europeans. This camp was mixed in terms of clan composition, but primarily made up of people from the Kuku-Yalanji inland estate cluster around China Camp. We also see the familiar pattern of Aboriginal majamaja maintaining relations with European bosses through the medium of their relationship with younger men. Also, as on the Annan and at the mission and at Wyalla, the Buru camp dissolved only when the Europeans left.

VIII.3 Dikarr (Thompson Creek).

For most of this century the major Kuku-Yalanji camp in the lower Bloomfield valley has been Dikarr. Dikarr is on Thompson Creek (called

Woobadda River on some maps), which empties into the Bloomfield River from the southeast, four km upriver from Ayton (see Figure 5). As with many other camps in SECYP, Dikarr appears to have been a seasonal (dry) camp which became permanent following the arrival of Europeans. The first known reference to the camp is in 1890 when Charles Davis, a selector on the north side of the Bloomfield, mentioned the "natives' camp" opposite his selection during a court inquiry in Cooktown (Davis 1890). Ion Idriess actually camped for some time at Dikarr in 1911-12. He described the camp there then:

> Just below [Baird's] Landing [at the mouth of Thompson Creek] on the edge of a scrub patch were the gunyahs of a . . . tribe who supplied recruits as stockmen to the Pierce brothers. They were a mercurial little crowd just like the big tribe downstream [at Banabila]. Some days we would hear their camp ringing with laughter, the youngsters playing at 'March Fly' (the boy chasing the girl to buzz in her ear and pinch her stomach), the shrieks of the girl, encored by the lubras as they sat pounding zamia nuts or weaving dilly-bags. Smiling men teaching the toddlers how to track lizards, mothers laughing at babies that sprawled and kicked and crooned in the sun. The next day the camp would be queerly silent with the people squatting by their gunyahs sullen and morose, not even the blowing of a leaf-blade or the tapping of a woomera. But the following day would see normal life again, the chatter of the women, the spear-making of the men, the infernal music enthusiast blowing hoarsely and monotonously on the yiki-yiki.[2] A tame cassowary and wallaby solemnly followed this crowd in their periodical 'walkabouts' through the bush (Idriess 1934:66-

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2. A short (1-1.5m), hollow ironwood branch like a didgeridoo, used with a 'sugarbag' wax mouthpiece and played like a horn for entertainment. See Le Souef (1894:27) for a description and also Idriess (1980 [1959]:199).

7).[3]

The Olufson family state, too, that there has been a camp at Thompson Creek since at least their grandfather, Captain Osmundson's time in the 1880s (Oscar Olufson Pers. Comm.).

An Education Department inspector in 1951 came to the Bloomfield area and visited "a large native group upstream at Thompson Creek . . . Many [of the children] are living under the most primitive conditions, their parents being only semi-civilized; they have had no schooling of any kind whatsoever, some have no knowledge or understanding of English" (Bell 1951). Also after a visit by Lutheran missionaries in 1957, it was noted that "[of] the 3 main native camps ... the larger camp across the [Bloomfield] river consists of 13 grass and bark shanties, where 100 natives including children are living" (Schmidt & Prenzler 1957).

I have data on the composition of Dikarr from about 1950 onwards. The patriclan affiliation of the fifty-five persons known to be buried in the vicinity of Thompson Creek is shown in Table 12. (These are all people who lived in the camp). Table 13 gives the composition of Dikarr in about 1965. These data demonstrate that for a long time, the Dikarr camp has consisted primarily of persons from two estate clusters: i) people from the estates on the upper reaches of the Bloomfield River, especially Wujalwujal; and ii) people from estates in the drainage area of the Roaring Meg Creek, especially the China Camp area. This latter group moved, as I noted in the previous section, to Thompson Creek in the 1920s. People from these two clusters were also the ones who used and visited the first mission at Wujalwujal, two km upstream from Thompson Creek. Figure 17 shows in schematic form the estate affiliations of Dikarrwarra.

After World War Two, Thompson Creek and its various 'branch' camps were focussed on three men. One of the main camp maja was Kalkamanangu, or 'King Billy' as he was known by Europeans. Kalkamanangu was a powerful man in many ways. He was a Mulujinwarra man (the senior male owner in 1950) and thus had influence over the large number of people

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3. Idriess (1980 [1959]:190-207) also describes many other aspects of Dikarr camp life, including sign language, more games, knot tying, tooth avulsion, jokes and fights. Le Souef (1894:16) mentions that Bloomfield people had domesticated scrub turkeys in camp.

TABLE 12

Known burials at *Dikarr*

Patriclan	Women	Men	Children	Total
Buruwarra & other ex-China Camp	4	9	4	17
Wujalwujalwarra	6	4	3	13
Mulujinwarra	4	3	2	9
Bulbanwarra	3	2	1	6
Muuwarra	1	2	-	3
Dikarrwarra	1	1	-	2
Wulbawarra	2	-	-	2
Rossville	2	-	-	2
Kangkajiwarra	-	1	-	1
Totals	23	22	10	55

TABLE 13

Dikarr composition, ca. 1965

Patriclan	Women	Men	Children	Total
Buruwarra & area	1	7	15	23
Wujalwujalwarra	4	5	4	13
Bulbanwarra	2	1	8	11
Kunawarra	0	1	8	9
Mulujinwarra	3	3	0	6
Kangkajiwarra	1	1	1	3
Upper Daintree area	2	0	0	2
Muwuwarra	0	1	5	6
Dandiwarra	0	1	2	3
Rossville	1	0	0	1
Mossman	0	1	0	1
Mt. Amos	1	0	0	1
Woorabinda, Central Qld.	1	0	0	1
Totals	16	21	43	90

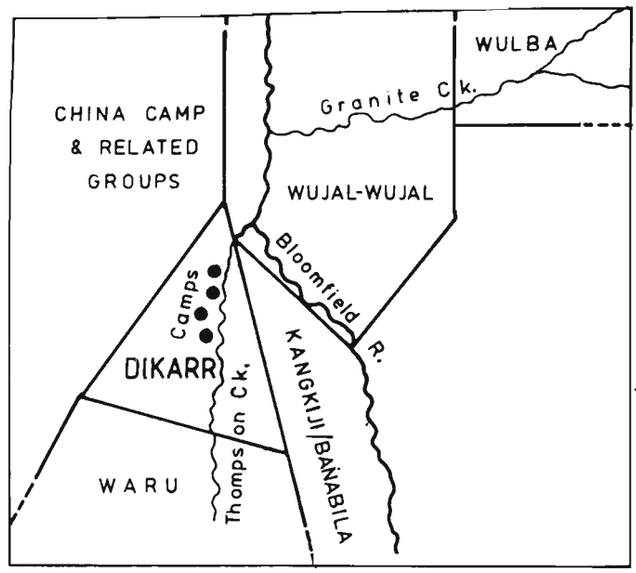


Figure 17 Schematic diagram of estate affiliations of Dikarrwarra.

from the inland Bloomfield area. He had had three wives, more or less simultaneously. One of these women was the senior owner of Dikarr, the site of the Thompson Creek camp. Both she and Kalkamanangu also had prominent relatives at two other Bloomfield camps, Banabila and Jajikal (see later). According to Kuku-Yalanji people from the Thompson Creek camp, Kalkamanangu's temper and quickness to fight had been legendary. Also his word was considered absolute. According to the Hartwigs (Lutheran missionaries who came to Bloomfield in 1957; see Chapter X), when Kalkamanangu died, the wailing of the women at Thompson Creek went on for days and mourners came from Hope Vale, Cooktown, Daintree and Mossman, as well as from the other Bloomfield camps. Another prominent man at Thompson Creek was Dirrakari (also called Old Man Charlie Ball) (Kalkamanangu's Z+S). He especially came into his own after the death of his uncle, but died himself at Main Camp in 1960. I have already mentioned Norman Baird (see last section). Baird was an influential person at Thompson Creek, particularly with the China Camp people. He also introduced Bloomfield Aborigines to country and western music, guitars and accordion, and initiated a style of singing and dancing that exists to today. (His accordion was passed on to the senior male owner of Wujalwujal and it is now almost a cult item.)

All three of these men - Kalkamanangu, Charlie Ball, and Norman Baird - apart from having power and influence, were focal points for residential groupings within Thompson Creek camp. In the mid - late

1960s the camp was divided into 12-13 individual household groups each containing an average of six persons (see Figure 18). These households formed three larger clusters within which there were close genealogical ties. Each of these clusters was also focussed on one of the three (by then recently deceased) focal males discussed above. These relationships are shown in Figure 19.

During this period the main focus of living at Thompson Creek was a village of houses on the creek flats on the south bank. These houses were made with available materials of bark, fibro and iron, and sometimes with grass-thatched roofs (see Plate X). There were satellite camps on the north side, on the mangrove islands on the middle reaches of the river, and around the corner of the Bloomfield on the south bank there. Temporary shelters were also erected in the sandy sections of Thompson Creek itself during the dry season. Individual family camps were abandoned upon the death of a person there and the grass and bush huts were burned. The more substantial houses in the village were usually torn down and shifted to another section of Thompson Creek on the death of a resident.

A substantial proportion of the diet for Thompson Creek residents came from the bush - riverine and sea food along with wild pig and yams predominating. From the early 1940s until 1968, rations (tobacco, flour, sugar, tea, potatoes, rice, molasses, and some tinned meat) were obtained from the only store then at Bloomfield - one run by the Olufson family across the river. Blankets came in big bundles to the store for distribution every year on the Queen's Birthday. Tomahawks and other tools were also occasionally given out. Only older people were eligible at first, but according to Oscar Olufson "this wasn't enough for them to exist on and a kind of child endowment food ration was later given out to mothers as well. This stuff was all shared around the whole tribe." Camp residents also planted pawpaw, mandarin, lemon, tamarind and orange trees at Thompson Creek and there were numerous mango trees. Some families also had full-scale vegetable gardens.

Pastors Schmidt and Prenzler of the Queensland Lutheran Mission Board remarked in 1957 about the Thompson Creek camp: "Few natives are employed. The majority are content to live on rations supplied to women and children" (Schmidt & Prenzler 1957). Nonetheless, quite a number of Thompson Creek men did work for pay at various times of the year. A number of them worked elsewhere - for example, as stockmen or tin-miners

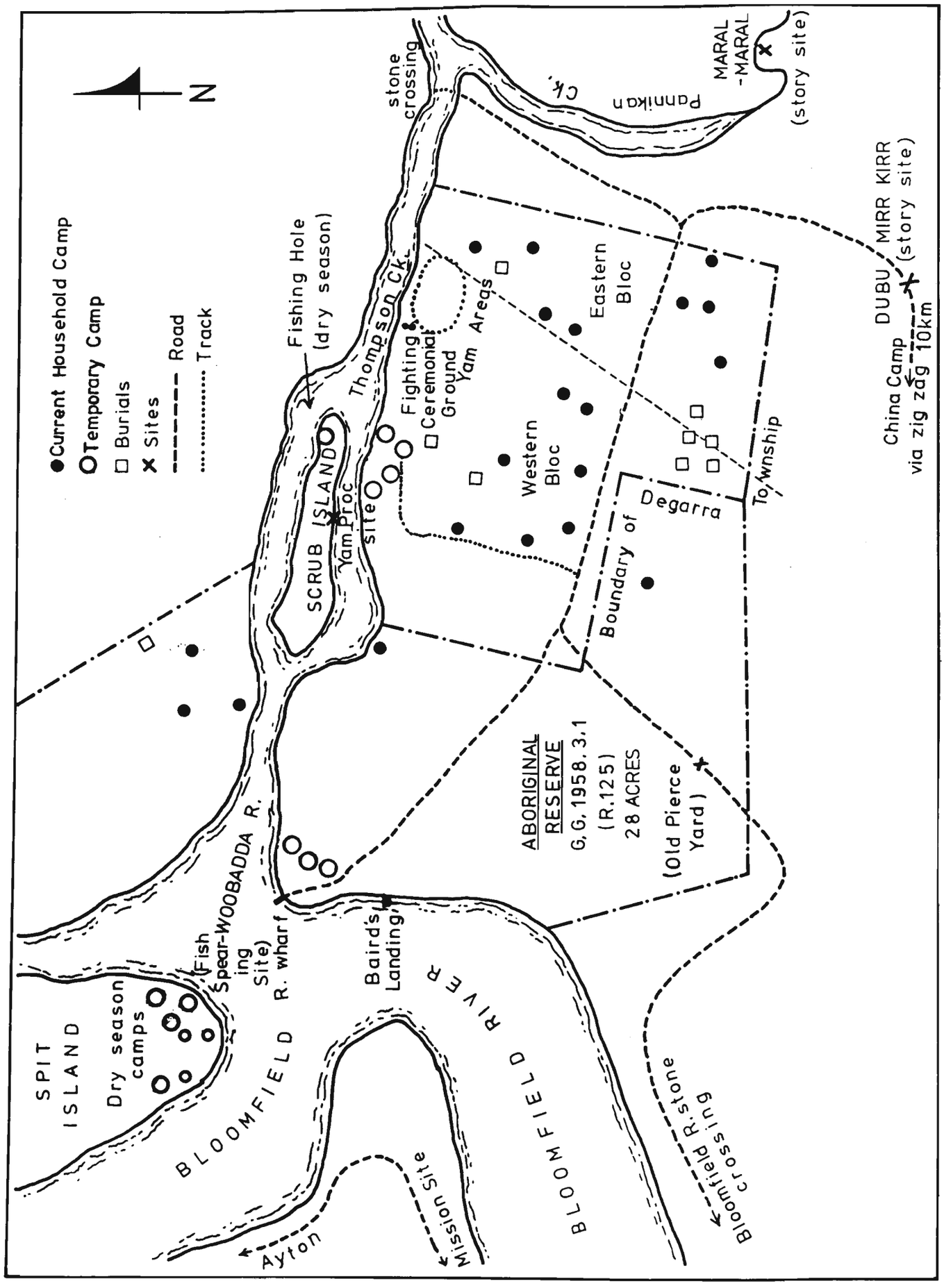
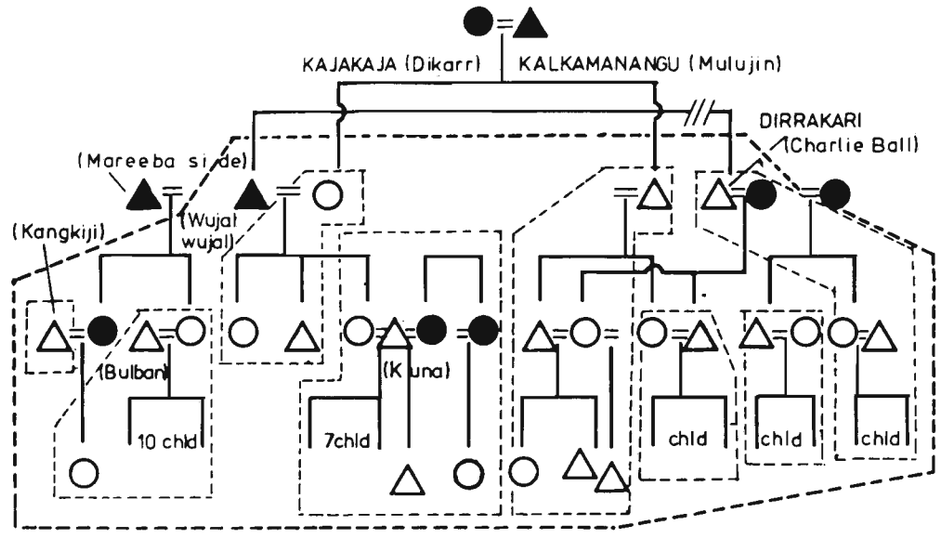
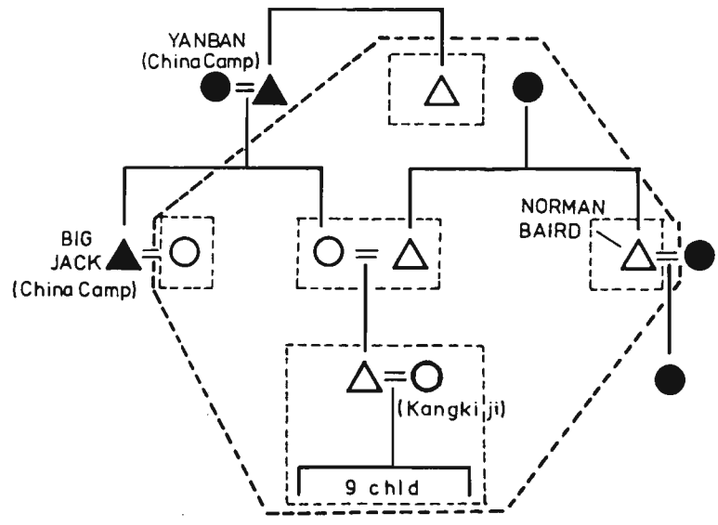


Figure 18 Dikarr in the 1960s.



Households in western bloc of camp.



Households in eastern bloc of camp.

Figure 19 Dikarr composition, early 1960s.

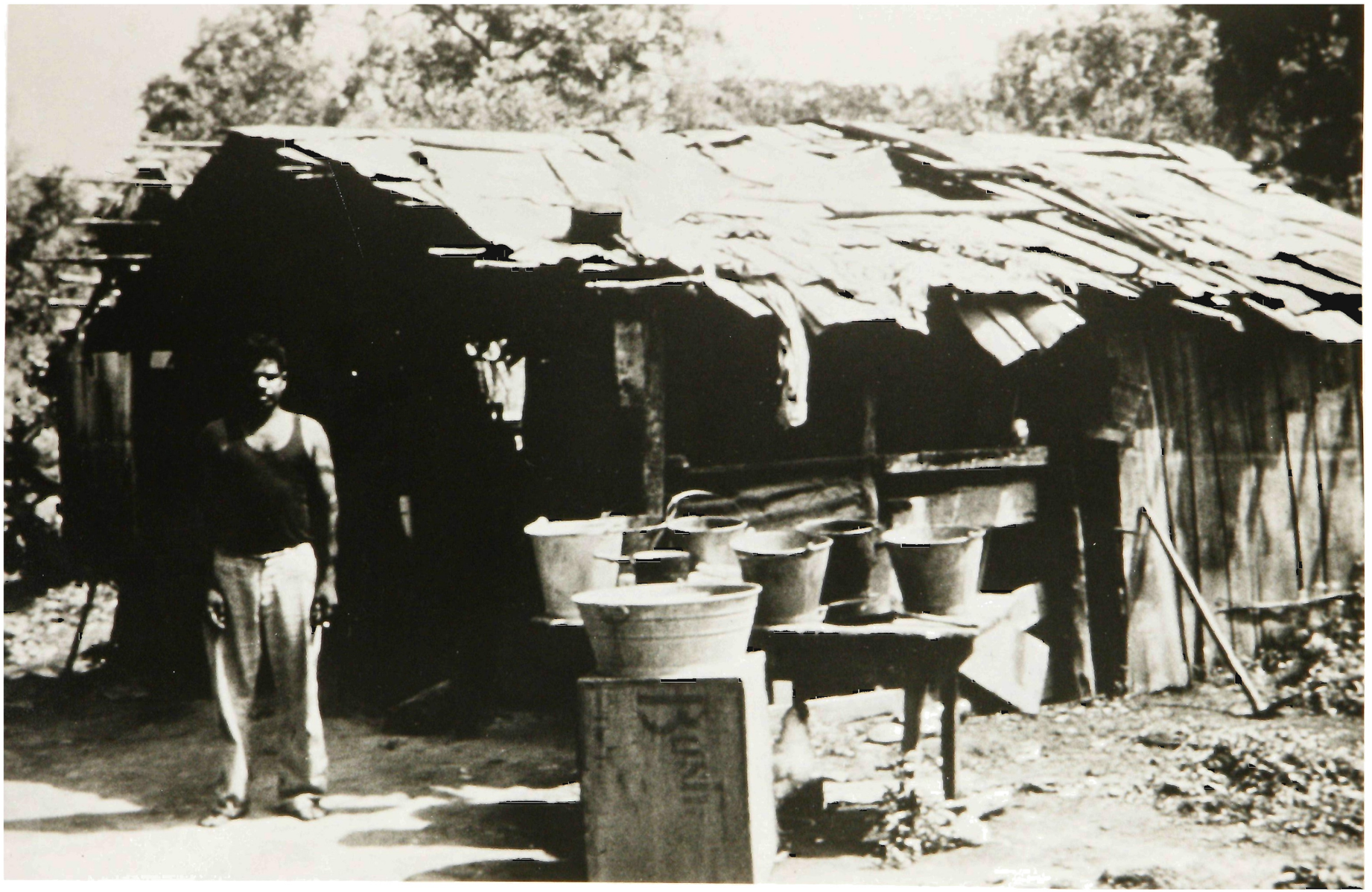


Plate X Billy King at [illegible], early 1960s. (Photograph courtesy of H. Hershberger)

and came down on weekends or during off-periods to see their families at the camp. In lugger days (1920s and 1930s) some men also went out on boats from Dikarr. Otherwise, the main form of employment was with individual Europeans in the Bloomfield area. This was primarily farm work and some stockwork. The Aboriginal Employment Register for Cooktown (Q.S.A.) gives some examples of Thompson Creek men and their jobs. (The primary estate affiliation of the men is shown in brackets.):

> **Henry Bloomfield** of Bloomfield [Buruwarra man, Norman Baird's wife's brother]. 31 years. Employed from 1/1/27 by E.P. Feinn, mail contractor of Ayton as horseboy.
> Same for 24/1/28.
> Henry Bloomfield employed by Bowden Pearling Co. from 26/6/28.
> **Pinky** of Bloomfield [Wujalwujalwarra]. 50 years. Employed from 24/2/30 by L.J.Neill, mailman as horseboy.
> Pinkie of Bloomfield. 45 years. Employed from 22/10/27 by E.G. Olufson, farmer of Bloomfield as yardboy.
> **Willie Burchell** of Bloomfield [upper Daintree man]. Employed from 8/2/30 by Arthur Pierce, packer of Bloomfield as horseboy.
> Willie Burchell. 12 years. Same for 1931.
> **Matty Boatboy** of Bloomfield [Kangkijiwarra]. Employed from 8/4/29 by Edward Pitt, fisherman of Bloomfield.
> **Charlie Ball** of Bloomfield [Wujalwujalwarra]. 38 years. Employed from 7/2/28 by Bowden Pearling Co.
> **Johnny Baird** of Bloomfield [Buruwarra]. Employed from 31/1/28 by Bowden Pearling Co.
> **Charlie Ogilvie** of Bloomfield [upper Daintree man]. 56 years. Employed from 18/1/26 by E.Feinn, mail contractor of Ayton as horseboy.
> Same for 3/4/28 and 1/1/29.
> Charlie Ogilvie employed from 12/3/27 by Thomas Pierce, farmer of Bloomfield.
> **Johnny Ogilvie** of Bloomfield [son of Charlie]. Employed from 20/2/29 by Th. Pierce, miner of Bloomfield.

Some of the young single women from Dikarr also worked as domestics on a casual basis for at least three households at Bloomfield. (These are generally not recorded in the Employment Register). The pay

arrangement for workers was the same as that described in Chapter VI: most of the 'wages' were paid to the Protector in Cooktown with the occasional person getting a certain amount of pocket money. On some jobs, food, tobacco, clothes, etc. were supplied, much of which made its way to other people in the camp.

Relations with Europeans at Dikarr followed the pattern of the other Bloomfield and Annan camps. There was one European family, and in particular, two men, who lived at Thompson Creek for at least 30 - 40 years. These two men, Arthur and Albert Pierce, were clearly the bosses for the Dikarr camp. The Pierce brothers had a team of several dozen horses and did the carrying and packing run from Bloomfield to China Camp and Main (or 'Scrub') Camp. They also ran cattle in the forest country between Roaring Meg and the coast, did some tin-mining in the area and, after 1917, ran a lugger of their own. The Pierces owned the several blocks of land between the Bloomfield Falls and Thompson Creek and had a small farm which produced vegetables for the tin-miners. Their centre of operations was near The Landing at the junction of Thompson Creek and the Bloomfield River. This was where they had their main stockyard and where goods were loaded from boats onto the packhorse teams. It was also near this site that Dikarr, the Thompson Creek Aboriginal camp, was located. The Pierce brothers drew all their labour from this camp and Albert, in particular, had a close relationship with the people there. He was known by whites and blacks as 'Chulbil' (Jalbil - a tree goanna), and according to people at Bloomfield today spoke fluent Kuku-Yalanji. He was also knowledgeable about bush craft, and about Bloomfield Aboriginal culture generally. Idriess spent time with the Pierces in 1911-12. He noted:

> Chulbil understood the aboriginal mentality perfectly; and he understood the language better than his own. He could sing all their war and hunting and camp songs, sing to their ceremonial dances too, and even sing some of the 'sacred' songs: but he was never admitted to the initiation ceremonies (Idriess 1980 [1959]:185).[4]

4. Kuku-Yalanji living today who grew up at Dikarr knew personally only the sons of the Pierce men, but the skill of Albert at, for instance, joking in language and his knowledge of the kinship system is legendary.

The relationship which the Dikarr people had with the Pierces provided them with legitimacy, in European terms, for the camp's existence - i.e. they could camp at Thompson Creek without fear of removal as they had resident 'white-fellas' of some standing. Further, the Thompson Creek people had ready access to European goods through some residents performing certain work. Some jobs - for example, stockwork and related work - were considered high status ones and were greatly sought after. In turn, as Idriess (1980 [1959]:181) notes, the Pierces "were utterly dependent for labour . . . upon the temperamental native stockboys and their families." Albert, who was in charge of the cattle, the saddles and horses, was "the idol of the stockboys" (p. 182) and as "he was a favourite with the natives, [this] stood the brothers' business in good stead, for Chulbil's native lore enabled him to replace those stockboys who were continually going walkabout" (p. 184).

Interestingly, unlike the first mission camp, Wyalla and China Camp, Dikarr did not break up when the Pierces left. If anything, the camp grew in the 1950s with the addition of some Annan River people. A partial reason for the camp's maintenance was the important and increasingly broker-like role (as opposed to a strictly Kuku-Yalanji maja role) which Norman Baird played in the 1950s at this camp. Being literate and adept at dealing with Europeans, he operated, if not as a boss in the sense of, for example, Hislop, then certainly as an intermediary. The transition from the Pierces to Baird was symbolized in Kuku-Yalanji eyes by the Pierces giving their house to Baird when they left the area. As well, in the late 1950s there was the arrival at Bloomfield of Mr. C. Hartwig, a Lutheran missionary. He increasingly then took on boss attributes and, although not living at Thompson Creek, he helped, for a time through his role to maintain Dikarr (see Chapter X).

The Dikarr camp existed until about 1970, and was used on a temporary basis throughout the 1970s and early 80s. I give reasons for its demise as a permanent camp in Chapter X.

VIII.4 Banabila.

Banabila was the Kuku-Yalanji name for a series of camps along the south bank of the Bloomfield River near its mouth. Informants state that it was a permanent camp, i.e. there were camps somewhere in the

immediate area year-round and fairly substantial houses were maintained there. In 1819, the marine surveyor P.P. King anchored just south of Weary Bay. While exploring the lower reaches of the Bloomfield River, King's crew saw no Aborigines, but found "near the entrance upon the bank of the inlet several huts" (King 1827,I:208); and near this camp, a 6.5m outrigger canoe and some large spears. Ellis Rowan, who visited Bloomfield in 1892, mentioned seeing "natives on the bank" near the mouth of the river as she arrived by boat at Bloomfield (1912:104). Rowan stayed with Mrs. Osmundson, the wife of the first European settler at Bloomfield, Captain Iver Osmundson. Rowan refers to an Aboriginal camp there and Aborigines working for Mrs. Osmundson. The Osmundson selection (277F), just inside the mouth of the river on the flats of the south bank, was actually known as 'Bannabilla'. It was the main focus of Aboriginal settlement here, although Collins' selection, 'Bloomfield River', and Johnson's 'St. Nicholas' were also used, especially later in the twentieth century.

After his visit to the Bloomfield district in February 1898, Roth reported 34 Aborigines at Osmundson's, four at Collins', and six at Johnson's (Roth 1898a:1). Idriess mentions that in 1911 there existed a large camp of 'sea-going natives' with canoes, on the large island in the river near the mouth opposite Osmundson's (see Idriess 1934:62; 1980 [1959]:187, 201). (See also Plates XI and XII). A government Schools Inspector at Bloomfield in 1951 reported "some native families living on the opposite [south] side of the river" (Bell 1951). A.C. Lock, who visited Bloomfield in 1953, wrote that he met some Aboriginal children there who "lived along the banks of the river in a partially civilised fashion . . . Although they lived under rather primitive conditions, they all seemed happy and carefree" (Lock 1956:295). The 1958 report of a Lutheran missionary mentions the Banabila camp (Hartwig 1958). And Dick (1960:2) mentions that the first thing seen from a boat on coming into the Bloomfield River mouth is the "blacks camp at Collins Flat."

As for composition of the Banabila camp, Roth provides us with a good description of it around the turn of the century:

> Banna-billa . . . is the country at the mouth of the Bloomfield River, the native name designating the selection (Osmundson's). The group here (Bannabillara) includes some three or four remnants from Bailey's Creek (Gangaji) about

Plate XI *Banaibanara*, 1890s. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs H. Jones)

Plate XII Kuku-Yalanji in outrigger canoes on the Bloomfield River between *Dikarr* and *Banaibila* camps, 1904. (Photograph courtesy of John Oxley Library)

> four miles south [Kangkiji is actually well north of Bailey's Creek], and perhaps the same number from Tchul-gur, the present Toolgoor Selection of Cochrane's some little distance north of the Bloomfield River. (Roth 1910a:92)

Elsewhere Roth reported that the "Bannabilla tribe . . . consisted of 10 men, 11 women, 9 boys and four girls . . . " (Roth 1898a:2).

Reconstruction of the composition of the camp through work with living informants who were born and grew up there shows Roth's description to be accurate. Figure 20 shows in schematic form the estate affiliations of Banabilawarra. Figure 21 shows the composition of the camp in the early 1960s. In the 1920s the maja of the camp was a man named Wulbar who was the traditional owner of Balabay, the estate of Plantation Creek and Beach, just across the river from Banabila. After World War Two Wulbar's oldest son, Oscar Olbar, became the camp boss, and, in turn, on Oscar's death, another brother, Billy Mapoon, took over. Banabila, the mob associated with it and these focal men are almost inseparable in Kuku-Yalanji descriptions and labels of the camp today.

From at least the turn of the century until about 1970, the Banabila group had a mixed subsistence base, drawing on both the bush and the European-dominated sphere. Being a jalunji or 'sea-side' mob, much of their bush resources came from the sea and the lower reaches of the river. Major items were shellfish, fish and marine turtle. They also obtained yams, sugarbag, cycads and various nuts and fruits from the forest ridge areas above their camp.[5] Roth commented that the Banabilawarra "are the best turtle fishers" and that "there is plenty of food for this tribe on their run, except perhaps during the rainy season" (Roth 1898a:2). The Banabila camp seems always to have had representatives working for Europeans. This gave the camp access to European goods and food. In 1898 Collins had four Aborigines working for him from the Banabila camp. Johnson had a 'wife' from the group (and there were two other women from there with him as well), which would have meant a source for the camp of some European items. At the turn of the century, though, Osmundson would have been the major source and the

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5. These data were obtained by having people who lived in the camp recall actual meals.

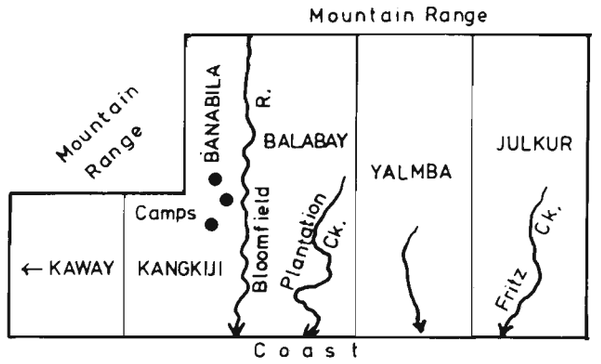

Figure 20 Schematic diagram of estate affiliations of Banabilawarra.

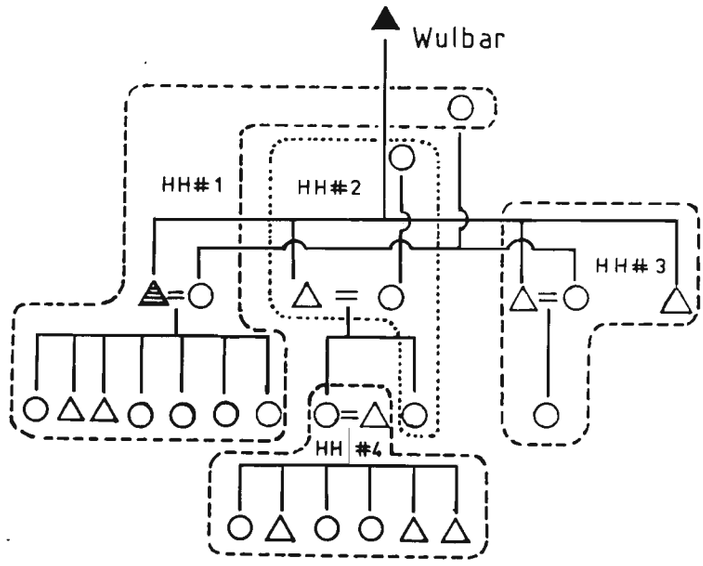

Figure 21 Banabila composition, early 1960s.

focal European. Roth (1898a:2) notes that the Banabilawarra "are good workers . . . and the most civilized comparatively speaking . . . Osmundson, who grows coffee, can only give employment to some three or four of these Bannabilla blacks, but he always gives them tucker for work done . . . "

Also, according to Oscar Olufson (Osmundson's grandson), the lugger boats used to call into Bloomfield frequently in the 1920s and 1930s for fresh water and for crews. The boat captains were almost exclusively Japanese and Malays[6] and they drew their crews from the Banabila mob (or the 'saltwater camp' as Olufson termed it) (Olufson Pers. Comm.). Officially, the Aborigines recruited were taken to Cooktown to sign on for 6 - 12 months (usually nine months in practice as the boats were laid up in the storm season). Ned Fein, the local mail carrier, also put together crews and took them overland to Cooktown to sign on. For this he received a commission. As for the 'voluntary' signing on, one European settler who knew the old divers from this camp told me that "Aborigines put their thumb prints down without knowing that they were in for six months of virtual slavedom. They were often enticed onto the boats in the first place with grog, opium or alcohol."

Life on the boats was certainly hard. At least three of Oscar Olbar's brothers from the Banabila camp died while on the boats or else from diving-related illnesses. Toby Bloomfield, a Kangkijiwarra man who sometimes camped at Banabila, told Hank Hershberger in the 1960s that, although formally when diving they were not required to dive below a certain depth, the boat men would sometimes sit in their dinghies and would hit the Aboriginal divers with an oar and would not let them onto the boat until they dived to the depth they wanted them to.

On the other hand, Kuku-Yalanji at Banabila were not merely a passive labour pool for the boats. Kuku-Yalanji men have mentioned to me several reasons why they sometimes actively sought employment on the boats:

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6. Osmundson himself also ran a lugger, just after World War One. He employed Aborigines from Banabila as divers. Osmundson's daughter commented that he "had a blackboy who remained with him all his life. They were very good sailor men. They took to that life very quickly" (Quoted in Lock 1956:305). This was not surprising given that Osmundson's camp was almost exclusively made up of 'sea-side' people.

- to gain money or goods;
- to avoid an unwanted spouse;
- to avoid (or delay) retribution for a wrong-doing or to avoid conflict generally;
- to 'see the country' - i.e. to travel around north Queensland. (This was mainly young single men with no real political prospects in the camp);
- to visit relatives who had been removed to Palm Island. (The men involved had the boats drop them at Palm after their contract was fulfilled).

The Aboriginal Employment Register (Cooktown) confirms that Banabila men were on the boats in the 1920s and 30s, although the records are scanty. This may mean the record is incomplete or that very few out of the total number who worked on boats actually signed on:

Alec Olbar [Wulbar's son]. Employed from 21/1/29 by Bowden Pearling Co. 50/month.
Same for 1928 and 1930.
Jimmy Kerry [ditto]. Employed from 14/2/28 by Bowden Pearling Co. 50/month.
Billy Mapoon [ditto]. Employed from 24/1/28 by Wyben Pearling Co. 55/month.
Oscar Olbar [ditto]. Employed from 24/1/28 by Wyben Pearling Co. 55/month.

Other jalunji men who sometimes camped at Banabila and who worked on boats were:

Corporal Medium [Julkurwarra]. Employed from 24/1/28 by Bowden Pearling Co. of Thursday Is.
George Doughboy [Kangkijiwarra]. Employed from 21/1/29 by Horey & Co.
Georgie Bamboo [Doughboy's B-S]. Employed from 21/1/29 by Bowden Pearling Co. Same in 1928.

The lowland area and mangrove flats which make up Banabila had, not surprisingly, great continuity of European residents. The two focal Europeans in the early days for Banabila Aborigines were Osmundson and

Collins. Osmundson arrived at Bloomfield in 1879 and stayed at the same site until about 1920. Roth describes him:

> [Osmundson] is a rough old Swede, married, and with three hard-working daughters . . . the youngest about 14 years of age, speaking the native dialect of the local blacks most fluently: it was she who acted as interpreter, showed me the sick children and explained the intentions of the Government . . . Osmundson . . . invariably keeps his word with [the blacks] (Roth 1898a:2).

The focus of Aboriginal settlement at Banabila appears to have shifted to the Collins property when Osmundson left sometime after World War One. Collins did some tin-scratching and was a pit-sawyer. His wife ran a school in her home for the Banabila children. The late Mabel Morse, sister of Oscar Olbar, who went to school there and worked for Mrs. Collins said that "Nyulu mijiji yala ngamu; ngajanga maja." ["That white woman was like a mother to us. She was our boss."] Mrs. Morse also described how Mrs. Collins protected her several times from a Cape Tribulation man who tried forcibly to take her as his wife. From 1935-1943 a man named Biddle had Osmundson's old property. He was a lay missionary who also ran a school for Banabila children. Biddle was not supported by any recognized church and received no financial or other support from the government (see Biddle 1939). From 1943 until the early 1950s, two European men ran cattle on a small scale on several of the blocks of land on the south bank. They employed Banabilawarra men to fence and as stockmen. A Kuku-Yalanji woman from Banabila had a child by one of these Europeans. In the early 1920s a European named Leslie Neil took over Collins' block and held it for over 30 years when his son took over.

The late Billy Mapoon, 'boss' for Banabila for the last 20 or so years, commented on the relationship between this site, these white men and his mob:

> That waybal been stop here. Ngadiku. Old Collin. Ngayku ngamu, nganyan, they been workin' for that waybala. Ngayku ngamu, nganyan wulayn here. Still stop here then. That waybala, old Collin wulayn ngadiku. All right. Waybala yinyu

take'a place. Ol' Leslie Neil, nyulu been take'a place. Nyulu been kaday ... all right. That ol' Leslie Neil wulayn then. When he been wulayn, kangkal take 'is place then. Kadan then, tell'em: 'Nganyan been leave'a note'. Ngayku yabaju four-bala there. Nyulu say: 'This is my place now. I take it over from old Collins. And you fellow can all stay here. Stop on this place. This is my ground now. I take it over.' Nganyin stop here then. No other waybal.

["That whiteman who was here at Banabila a long time ago, old Collins. My mother and father worked for that whiteman. My mother and father died here. But we still stayed on camping here. That whiteman, Collins, he died. All right. Another whiteman took his place. Old Leslie Neil. He came. All right, then he died. After he died, his son took over. He came and told us that his father had left a note. My (B.M.'s) four brothers were here then. The note said that he (old Neil) had taken over from Collins and that you people can camp here. We stayed then. No other whitepeople have been here."]

In summary, the Banabila camp was a permanent one of long-standing. It was composed of 'sea-side people' from estates along the coast from Cedar Bay south to Cape Tribulation. It also had a core of people who had close ties to the site and the surrounding country. As in our other case studies, an important factor in the maintenance of this camp was the long continuity of specific Europeans with boss-like traits. Banabila operated as an independent camp until the early 1970s. Its end then was bound up, like the other camps on the Bloomfield at that time, with the coming of the second Lutheran mission.

VIII.5 Jajikal (Bottom Camp).

Jajikal is a place name for the camp which existed near Ayton, the small European settlement on the north side of the Bloomfield River. The camp became generally known as 'Bottom Camp' when the second Bloomfield mission got underway again at Wujalwujal in the late 1960s. (The latter was known as 'Top Camp'.) Ayton was the 'coloured

settlement' in Idriess' Men of the Jungle (1934). When he was there in 1912, there were very few Europeans actually in Ayton. As Idriess (1934:63) described it: "The predominant types were families of Malay and Islander. But South Sea men were there too . . ."

The Aboriginal camp did not exist at Ayton then either, nor was it there in 1923 when one Kuku-Yalanji man, Charlie Collins left the Bloomfield area. Oscar Olufson and others maintain that the camp began to develop on a small-scale in the 1930s. This was through certain genealogical connections between some Kangkijiwarra and Banabilawarra people and a 'South Sea' man who had been at Ayton when Idriess was there. But the camp was also established when a European/Malay man named Simms (called Dakuy in Kuku-Yalanji) arrived sometime in the 1930s.

Bottom Camp had two phases: the first from about 1930 until the late 1950s, and the second from about 1960 until 1969. In the first phase, the camp existed partially through its links with the Simms family and the composition was primarily jalunji, or 'sea-side' Kuku-Yalanji. The camp seems to have begun as an off-shoot of Banabila, with Toby Bloomfield, a Kangkijiwarra man, the focal person of the camp. Others included people of the following estates: Yalmba, Kabakaday (Bailey's Creek), Julkur, Wayalwayal, Wujalwujal, Wulumuban, and Bulban. Estate association of Bottom Camp residents for the first phase is shown schematically in Figure 22. Figure 23a shows the relationships between some of the residents in this phase of the camp's history. There were also several nganjanganja ('outside' or 'stranger fellas' - Aborigines from outside of SECYP) at Bottom Camp in its early days; these were men who had worked on luggers and who had ended up at Bloomfield and stayed. The second phase of Bottom Camp began with the arrival of Kuku-Nyungkul speakers from Cooktown, from the upper Annan and elsewhere. As mentioned in Chapter VI, with the end of the tin era on the Annan, most Kuku-Nyungkul people had made their way into Cooktown by the end of the 1940s and early 1950s. Two small reserves were set up on the edge of town there. One was used by 'north-side bama' (Flinders Island, lower Normanby River and Gugu-Yimidhirr-speaking peoples) and the other by Annan and some Bloomfield peoples. According to one Gugu-Yimidhirr man, there was a great deal of antagonism and fear about sorcery between the two Cooktown camps. Also the main area for Aboriginal employment during that time was peanut-picking on the farms along the McIvor River. Annan men were, according to a Kuku-Nyungkul man there at the time, extremely

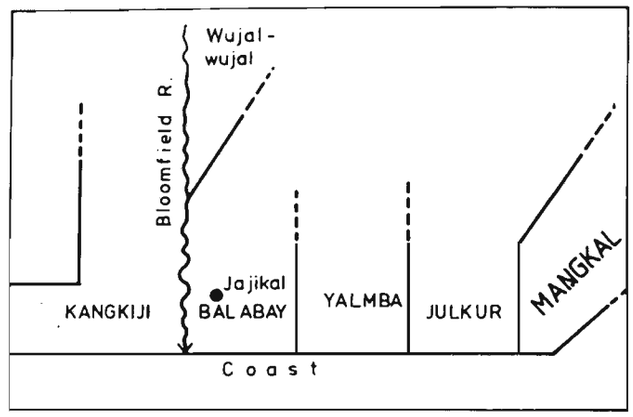

Figure 22 Schematic diagram of estate affiliations of Jajikalwarra, pre-1960.

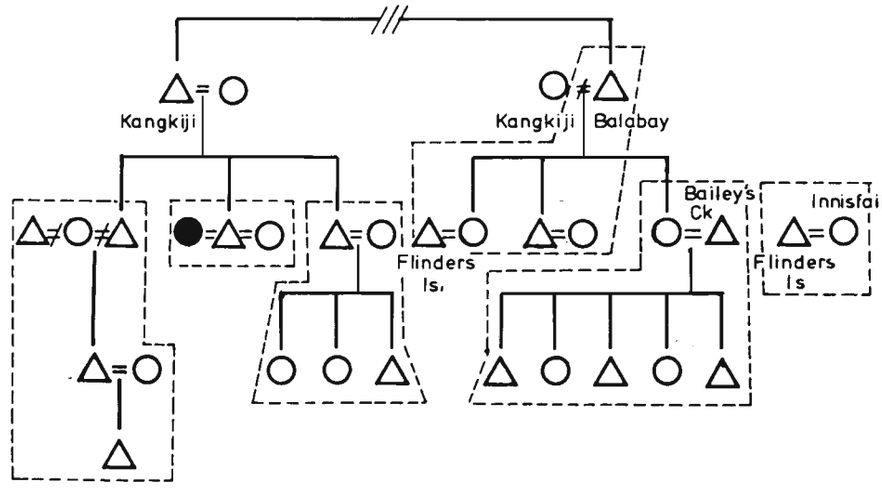

Figure 23a Jajikal composition, ca. 1940. (Note: Patriclan affiliations of some individuals are shown.)

reluctant to work there because the traditional owners of that country were still camped there. Unfortunately, not working gave an Aboriginal man at Cooktown then a good chance of being removed. In the early 1950s, many individuals and several families of Annan people were removed to Palm Island and other southern government settlements (see next chapter). When this began happening, and spurred by the inter-Aboriginal group tensions, Kuku-Nyungkul families began to leave Cooktown and go to Bloomfield.

The attractions at Bloomfield were several; it was renowned as a good place for bush foods, and there were very few Europeans (and no permanent police). Most importantly, a prominent Kunawarra (Shipton's Flat) man had earlier moved to Bloomfield with his wife and set up camp with his mother's mother's people at Jajikal. This led the way, from the early 1950s until the mid-1960s, for a slow migration of Kuku-Nyungkul people from all over SECYP and elsewhere. This went on until by about 1964, Jajikal had become a wholly Kuku-Nyungkul camp. The first family to arrive came from Palm Island where they had been since 1941. This man's brother and his family then arrived from Cooktown along with other Kuku-Nyungkul from there. A Kuku-Bidiji man (from Green Hill) working as a stockman at Laura left his children and Kuku-Nyungkul wife at Bottom Camp with her father. Then the woman's sister and her husband and family arrived from Woorabinda, the government settlement near Rockhampton, and so on. As one Kuku-Nyungkul woman, Ruby Friday, put it:

> Those bingabinga come down Bloomfield. That's why jawun-karra been build up here Bloomfield. Build up maninya wulbul yaraymba bubu-ngu. And that's why nganjin newcomers, we follow all the jawun karra kankadan now. We kaday Bloomfieldbu, Ngayu kadan and ngayku dunuy, then Jacky Friday kadan. Old people-ngu place. Nganjan wukurrinbaja. Same way nganjan follow that footstep. Nganjan kaday too.
>
> ["Those old men came down to Bloomfield. That's the reason so many countrymen started living here at Bloomfield. Our group got bigger and bigger here. We newcomers all followed our countrymen who first came down here. We came to Bloomfield; my husband and I came, then Jacky Friday (her hus-

band's brother). Old people were here and we followed them. We went the same way they did; we followed their footsteps and came too."]

Relationships between residents of Bottom Camp in the mid-1960s are shown in Figure 23b.

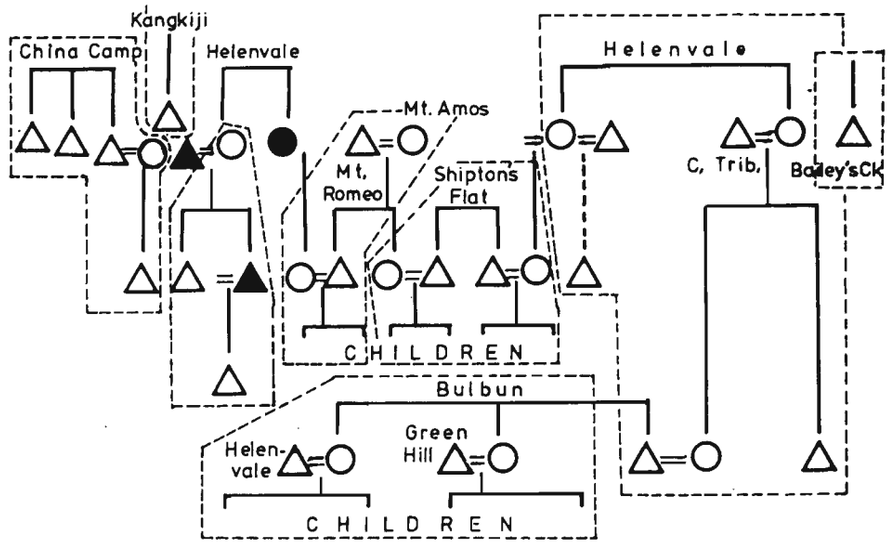

Figure 23b Jajikal composition, mid-1960s.

The Jajikal camp thus went from a small group of 'sea-side' old people in 1950 to about 30 people in 1957 (Schmidt & Prenzler 1957), and then to about 60 people - almost wholly Kuku-Nyungkul speakers from the Annan - by 1965. (H. & R. Hershberger Pers. Comm.). Houses and huts in the camp were made of available materials (old timber and logs, galvanized iron, fibro, etc.) and had packed dirt floors. (See Plate XIII.) The land on which Bottom Camp was situated was privately-owned freehold. There were only a handful of Europeans in Ayton at the time, and from 1961 the major relationship for Kuku-Nyungkul people at this camp was with the Hershbergers, Summer Institute of Linguistics Bible translators, who lived adjacent to the camp. This relationship was a reciprocal one whereby several of the older people acted as informants for the Hershbergers, while the latter took the men out hunting in their truck, hauled firewood and water for the camp, and aided them with some medical problems and with certain official matters. The Hershbergers also purchased one of the blocks of land on which the camp was sited so that they would not be moved by a hostile owner. The camp at Jajikal dissolved as Lutheran missionaries moved people up to the new mission in

Plate XIII *Yirrkalawarra*, 1970. (Photograph courtesy of H. Hershberger)

the late 1960s and early 1970s. I discuss this further in Chapter X.

VIII.6 'Buliman-time'.

For the era of Kuku-Yalanji life at Bloomfield which I have discussed in this chapter, it is important to remember that the Cooktown police sergeant was the local Protector. As far as I can determine for at least the period from about 1940 to 1960, the police (and therefore the government) were reasonably satisfied with - or at least indifferent to - the situation of the Aborigines at Bloomfield and the relationship between their camps and particular Europeans. There is a sense in which the police held the Europeans involved, responsible for 'minding', 'looking after' and controlling their respective camp Aborigines. There were a number of spheres in which the police did play a direct role. The first was the removal of individual Aborigines from the Bloomfield area. These were ones known as 'troublemakers' by the police. 'Crimes' included repeated drunkenness, absconding from jobs, petty theft, etc. I know of at least a dozen removals from the Bloomfield area during this time.[7] Once again in Aboriginal terms, having a good boss was a very good means of avoiding removal. At least half a dozen of those people removed had no permanent relationship with any of the three camps.

The second sphere of police involvement at Bloomfield during this time was the appointing of 'Kings'. As on the Annan earlier, these were Aboriginal men whom the police thought were prominent men in the camps who they could deal with in matters relating to the camp. There were two 'Kings' at Bloomfield. The first was Kalkamanangu, whom I have already mentioned. Whether by chance or design, the police could probably not have chosen a more appropriate man in Kalkamanangu. Surprisingly, he apparently often chose to deal with the police direct rather than through intermediates as with older, powerful men in other

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7. There seems to have been a great degree of diference between particular policemen as to how much laws were enforced and on what grounds removal occurred. One sergeant was renowned amongst Kuku-Yalanji as being kuliji ('cheeky') and jawunkari ('no friend'). Not surprisingly, he was responsible for a number of removals.

Kuku-Yalanji camps.[8] The relatively peaceful and minor role which the police played in Aboriginal-European affairs during this period at Bloomfield may have had something to do with their recognition in this case of traditional authority with this man. However, the police did not do so well in their second choice of 'Kings'. Another man, George Doughboy, was made king after the death of Kalkamanangu in the early 1950s. Doughboy was the younger brother of Kajakaja, the traditional owner of the Dikarr site and Kalkamanangu's third wife, but he had no permanent relationship with any one camp. He seems to have floated between the three camps at Bloomfield and Cooktown for most of his later life. Most Bloomfield residents, Aboriginal and European, are prone to thinking of Doughboy's 'reign' as something of a joke (except when he got to meet Queen Elizabeth in Cooktown in 1970 which improved his status somewhat).

Another sphere of police action at Bloomfield during the 1950s was the setting up of a reserve at Thompson Creek and the encouragement of gardens there. In 1958 the Cooktown police sergeant arranged for the gazettal of eleven hectares of land as Reserve for Aboriginal usage at Thompson Creek (Q.G.G. 1958.3.1). Predictably, the land was not that which the village or any of the seasonal camps were on. (These were all on the gazetted but never occupied township of Degarra.) Rather, the reserve was put at the Landing where the sheds for the Pierce property had been. The problem with shifting down to this site was that there was no fresh water and understandably no one moved. The police also encouraged (successfully in a number of cases) the planting of family-size vegetable gardens at Thompson Creek, supplying seeds and wire for fences.

The final area in which the police played some part at Bloomfield at this time was with respect to Aboriginal marriages. While I have not been able to find any official documentation of this, it seems that there was a policy of some kind which aimed at formalising in European legal terms Aboriginal traditional marriages. Also there was the

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8. I know little of specific cases of Kalkamanangu's dealing with the police. However, he did prevent the removal of several of his Aboriginal/European grandchildren.

notion, which had existed since European arrival,[9] that single Aboriginal women were a threat to peaceable relations in the community. On at least three occasions in the early 1960s couples from Dikarr and Banabila were taken into Cooktown to register their marriages. Although two of these unions were 'crooked' or incorrect ones from a Kuku-Yalanji perspective, in all cases, as far as I can establish, the men and women were living together prior to being taken in by police. One person told me though, that during this time one old man at Jajikal deliberately married off his two daughters early so that they would be in less danger of removal.

VIII.7 Relations between the camps.

For the entire period of their existence, the six major camps at Bloomfield maintained separate identities. This was apart from the major migrations such as when part of the mission camp mob went to China Camp, and when many of the latter mob came to Thompson Creek. The separate identities were maintained despite a tendency towards exogamy in the camps. Of a total of 46 marriages which occurred at Bloomfield between about 1935 and 1956, 41 or 89% were between people from different camps.[10] I have noted that the composition of each camp, with respect to patriclan estate affiliation, was quite different. Wayalwayal had primarily people from the hinterland of Weary Bay and the Romeo range; Banabila had sea-side people from Plantation Beach, Kangkiji and Cowie Beaches; Buru had Boolbun, upper Daintree and China Camp people; Wujalwujal had Bloomfield River, Granite Creek and some groups from further west; Dikarr consisted of people from the middle to upper reaches of the Bloomfield River and then later the China Camp and Roaring Meg mob; and Jajikal contained for the bulk of its existence almost wholly Annan people. The residents of these camps were thus from clusters of

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9. This is explicitly stated by the Under Secretary of the Home Secretary's Office in a letter to Pastor Kaibel of the Lutheran Church, 27/12/1900 #00/10388 in Box 1, File B833 U.E.L.C.A.

10. This excludes marriages with 'outsiders' (e.g. Hope Vale, Mossman, etc.) and includes only those people associated with particular camps in the Bloomfield valley.

contiguous estates. But, at the same time, the camp was based on a core of members , and often one individual, of the clan which owned the estate on which the camp was sited. It was this core which maintained the identity of the camp.

While seeing themselves as being closely related peoples (having many actual kin and other genealogical connection, speaking the same language, and sharing most cultural elements), sharp distinctions were made by residents between these camps. Rowan makes reference to this maintenance of difference. During her trip of 1892 she noted (1912:105) that she could not get the Aborigines at Osmundsons' (Banabila) to cross the river and take a note over to Hislops' for her: "Neither for love, pipes, tobacco, nor even a scarlet print with white bull-dog heads upon it, would they be bribed; they were afraid of the tribe of natives there." She also remarks that the 'tribe' at the mission station was quite separate from either the 'river blacks' or those at Hislops' (1912:105, 124). Roth (1898a:3) also commented that Hislop had told him that the Aborigines at the Wyalla camp refused to go up to the mission station for any length of time. Roth (p. 2) also stated that the Banabila 'tribe' at Osmundsons' did not get on particularly well with the other camps: "It is this tribe which is always made the scapegoat by neighbouring blacks for any deaths, etc. occurring . . . They are comparatively weak, without any friends . . ." Idriess, too, noted the differences. He stated (1980[1959]:201-2) that:

> At times I'd stroll down [to the Dikarr camp from Pierces'] and be surprised at how the camp had grown overnight, shaggy-browed groups squatting there beside their little fires silently regarding me as if they had never seen me before: until I 'showed my hand', the etiquette was that we must be strangers. The real strangers who had swelled the camp were nomad family groups come in from the hills, or from the big island camp downstream, or from across the Wyalla Plain. Arthur frowned on such 'bush' visitors, because they sometimes upset a well ordered camp.
>
> Sometimes the hairy visaged visitors from the bush, the river island, and Wyalla Plain would all meet quietly thus. On such occasions there was bound to be trouble - as often as not caused by the mischievous young girls with their

> giggling inuendoes, setting the stock boys against the young bucks from the hills, and vice versa. Then a swaggering stockboy would challenge a bush boy to a wrestling match.

Oscar Olufson stated to me that "The different tribes in the [Bloomfield] valley only had a bit to do with each other. The Thompson mob stayed pretty much in that valley [i.e. Thompson Creek valley] and moved around there. The salt-water mob stayed out on the coast. They all came together for funerals, though they were also always having these big spear fights where nobody got hurt." Kuku-Yalanji people such as John Walker and Bob Yerrie who lived at Thompson Creek, also report two major fights in the 1920s between China Camp and Dikarr people (i.e. they described the camps as a whole as being the two 'sides').

VIII.8 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have presented data on four further case studies which, along with those from Chapters VI and VII, describe the nature of the articulation between the Aboriginal mode of production and the forms which capitalism took in SECYP during this period. In Chapter IX I summarise the features of this articulation and the consequences of it in various spheres of Kuku-Yalanji life.

Chapter IX: Bosses and camps 1880-1956: The articulation of the capitalist and Aboriginal modes of production in SECYP.

IX.1 Introduction.

This chapter analyses the data presented in the case studies of the previous three chapters. It does so firstly with respect to the model of Kuku-Yalanji society and its mode of production as I outlined it in Part 2, and secondly, with respect to the concept of articulation which I discussed in Chapter II. I maintain here that historical materialism provides the best theoretical basis to account for both the conservation and the transformation of Kuku-Yalanji society in the period 1880 to 1956. The processes and principles set forth in this chapter also give us a framework for understanding contemporary Kuku-Yalanji life as it is described in Chapters X and XI.

IX.2 Summary of the pre-1880 model

In Chapter III, I described the forces of production in the Aboriginal mode of production in SECYP. I noted that there was evidence that a one-to-one residential relationship between Kuku-Yalanji clans and estates was more of an ideal than a reality. I argued that due to factors such as seasonal and geographic unevenness of resources, the requirements of certain key production processes, marriage practices, and political machinations within and between individuals, families and clans, the residential groupings on estates must have been camps of mixed clan composition. The camps usually contained, however, people who belonged to a cluster of estates focused on a small-scale drainage system. These findings are in line with recent ones from elsewhere in CYP (Chase 1980; von Sturmer 1978; Sutton 1978).

In Chapter IV, I demonstrated that there were formal status positions determined by the relations of production in Kuku-Yalanji society and defined largely by sex and age. A body of beliefs, termed Ngujakura, reflected and was used to justify the rights and obligations associated with these positions. This ideology was defined and interpreted by the bingabinga - middle-aged to older men - who also controlled aspects of food production, distribution and consumption, as well as some aspects of relations between people and land (particularly

matters of access) and relationships with the spiritual world. Bingabinga also played important judicial roles by determining the rights of parties in disputes and grievance situations.

Beyond status determined only by formal attributes, I demonstrated that the historical record strongly suggested the existence of individuals within the bingabinga category who had not only structural power, but also achieved status. These individuals, termed majamaja, carried great influence; they were able to attract followers for various purposes, were definers and interpreters of 'tradition' and were often polygynous. Most importantly, they were nuclei around whom residential camps formed. These camps were -warra groups, but membership was not by reference to common descent, but rather by reference to the maja and his descent. These residential entities must thus be examined not by reference to descent or clans, but rather from an ego-centred point of view. The groups were ones of kindred, but with anyone else also able to be absorbed as determined by the maja or his immediate family. These camps were the economic, the reproducing and the corporate units of Kuku-Yalanji society. The status of the various majamaja arose largely within the camp domain, but there was also a polity of competing majamaja from camps within the same estate cluster. It was these men, the majamaja, not bingabinga in general, who acted as social reference points and as mediators between their camp residents and the broader 'world order'. This situation, too, corresponds with data from the work of von Sturmer (1978) and Sutton (1978).

IX.3 Elements of articulation to 1956.

The existence of camps and the majamaja pre-date the arrival of Europeans in SECYP, and both were basic elements in the Aboriginal mode of production there. They were also of fundamental significance in the Kuku-Yalanji-European contact which occurred from about 1885 on. The patterns of contact between Aborigines and Europeans in SECYP for the next seventy or so years are best considered as a process of articulation. The concrete historical elements of this process as shown by the case studies in Chapters VI-VIII included:

(i) Kuku-Yalanji camps of mixed clan composition (e.g. Buru at China Camp);

(ii) Mobs associated with the camps, largely made up of people from the

estate cluster around the camp area (e.g. Buruwarra);
(iii) Focal individuals - majamaja - who were usually senior members of the clan which owned the estate on which the camp was located. These individuals were men of achieved status who largely defined the mob associated with the camp (e.g. Old Man Yanban at China Camp);
(iv) Complexes of European intervention into Aboriginal life. These were unique combinations of various individuals, aims, ideologies, social relationships, processes and effects (e.g. tin-mining). There were also more general macro-forces operating within and between individual intervention complexes (world mineral market prices and European attitudes about Aborigines);
(v) Individual Europeans associated with certain intervention complexes who had structural and personal similarities with the Kuku-Yalanji majamaja. These Europeans - bosses - mediated between Kuku-Yalanji camps with which they were associated and certain outside structures. They also acted to define the camp's existence through their own identities (e.g. Robert Hislop).
The intervention complexes, some of the macro-forces and the Kuku-Yalanji camps discussed thus far are summarised in the schematic chronology shown in Figure 24.

I analyse now the elements listed above in some detail, then move to a discussion of the forms of the relationship between them, both synchronic and diachronic. The relationship of articulation between the systems of which these elements were a part will be shown to consist of two phases.

IX.3.1 Camps and majamaja.

During the almost eighty year period following the European arrival in SECYP, there were seven major Kuku-Yalanji camps on the upper Annan and six in the Bloomfield valley (see Figure 24). They varied in duration from ten years to at least eighty years. They each contained from thirty-five to sixty permanent residents, and a majority of those at each camp were from the estates clustered around the camp. For the periods on which I have data, the camps nearly always contained members of the actual estate on which the camp itself was located. It was from this group that individuals who are seen as focal people for the camps were usually drawn. Kuku-Yalanji today speak of the camps and these

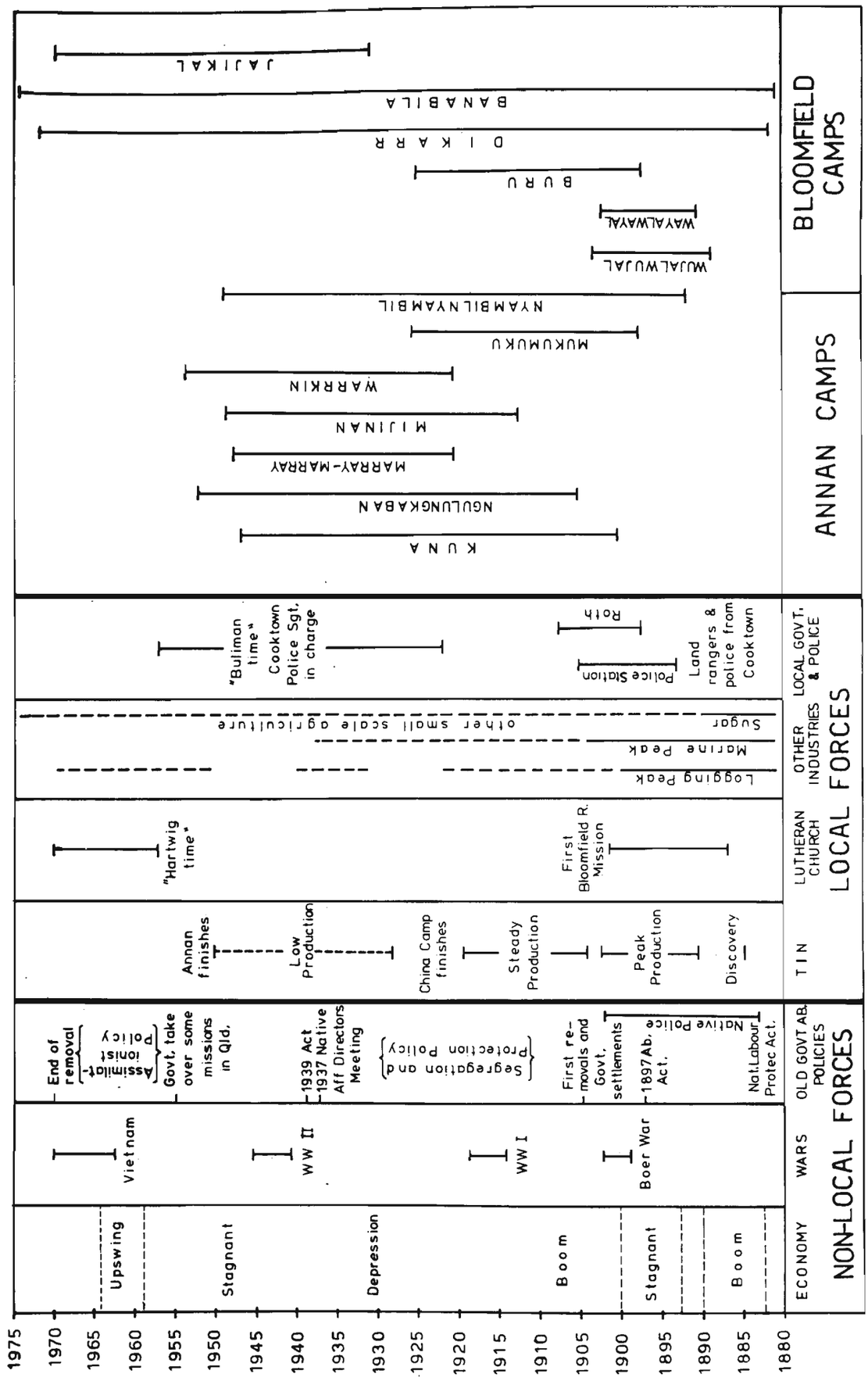

Figure 24 Schematic chronology of European intervention complexes and Kuku-Yalanji camps, 1880-1975.

individuals synonymously. A particular camp is defined by the identity of its focal individual, and to a lesser extent, by members of his immediate family who were also co-resident. In looking at these focal individuals more closely, certain common traits become evident. They were all men. They had influence over marriage choices of persons other than their own children, and they often had more than one wife themselves. They often settled disputes and their decisions regarding these and other matters, were (at least overtly) incontrovertible. They had reputations over wide areas and were able to muster supporters widely for events such as fights or ceremonies. They often influenced cultural innovation (including song and dance styles, material culture, etc. These individuals also often made decisions concerning dealings with Europeans by camp members (although this did not mean that they necessarily dealt directly with Europeans). The deaths and funeral ceremonies of these men were occasions of note, and a camp would sometimes dissolve on the death of its focal person.

These individuals, who lived in the post-contact camps, were majamaja in the traditional sense. Their positions had direct continuity from pre-contact times. Politicking between potential majamaja within the same large camp (and occasionally, the competition between majamaja from different camps if the context was appropriate), was a major dynamic in determining Kuku-Yalanji residence, demographic patterns, conflicts, etc., in the contact era and before. It is a basic proposition here that the existence of such positions in Aboriginal society meant that an inequality of individuals (on other than structural grounds), of a kind rarely dealt with in the literature, was basic to Aboriginal politics. And because the fortunes of a camp varied with the status and power of its maja, groups were also unequal. I maintain this is a crucial consideration when looking at Aboriginal-European relations; examination of the role of these majamaja is vital in order to account for the maintenance and reproduction of some groups and the utter extinction of others.

IX.3.2 European intervention complexes.

From the late nineteenth century on, Kuku-Yalanji camps and their majamaja existed within a domain which also contained Europeans. I have maintained that instead of some diffuse generalised contact with an

entity called European society, Kuku-Yalanji only interacted with sections or parts of it. These parts are best thought of as complexes, made up of a number of elements (material, social and ideological), which intervened to varying degrees in Kuku-Yalanji lives. While the capitalist mode of production is the underlying force, it is important to distinguish between its concrete manifestations. I described six major intervention complexes which operated in SECYP from the late 1870s on. In one sense, some of these were more successful in their dealings with Aborigines than others. They were successful in that, while having a social and environmental impact on the people and area, they were not necessarily detrimental to Aborigines, and Aborigines were able to interact with parts of the complex without jeopardising their lives or way of life (at least in the short term and for some groups, see next section). The factors involved with these more positive complexes included:

(i) Permanency of residence by the same Europeans over some years. This residence also needed to be based on a particular site;

(ii) Numbers of Europeans involved needed to be relatively small, and these needed to be dispersed into groups which were identifiable with particular areas;

(iii) Activities involving the environment had to be such that they either did not permanently destroy or alter it in major ways, or they were seasonal in form. This allowed continued access by Kuku-Yalanji to bush resources;

(iv) The form of the complex and its ancillary settlement patterns had to be such that Aboriginal residential patterns - the camps - could continue;

(v) Europeans involved could not overly interfere with the internal camp domain, or appear to threaten the Kuku-Yalanji 'order of things'.

On these counts, the positive intervention complexes were tin-mining and agriculture. Pastoralism would probably also have been included, had there been more of it in SECYP. The negative, more destructive ones were logging, the marine industries and the government. The first Lutheran mission at Bloomfield falls somewhere in between the two categories.

In the case of all the intervention complexes, a distinction can be made between the differential effects of local aspects or micro-forces and those which are macro- or non-local. In the first case, on-the-

ground activities seem to have been more significant in impact than were ideology or attitudes. With the non-local forces, ideology appears to be a potentially more disruptive force. This is because, as in the case of the government intervention complex, the nature of policy and its assumptions were not determined by knowledge of how local structures worked or what they consisted of on the part of decision-makers.

IX.3.3 European bosses.

Another critical element was the Europeans who operated as 'representatives' of their intervention complexes and of European society in general. Aboriginal perceptions of European society were generally wholly defined by - or limited to - these individuals. These are the people I have termed 'bosses' and I have argued that they played an important role in the maintenance of the camps. As with the majamaja, the distinction between structural or ascribed status and informal or achieved status is relevant here. Because of their legal, political and economic domination of Aborigines generally, all Europeans had power over Aborigines in a structural sense. Yet not all Europeans were relevant to or equally dominant of Aborigines in an actual sense. Put simply, not all Europeans could be or were bosses.

From a Kuku-Yalanji perspective, a successful boss had to have a number of qualities: a sound economic base (with surplus enough to partially support a camp), a need for some Aboriginal labour, a language-learning capacity, approved (if any) relations with Aboriginal women. (It was seen as appropriate in some cases for a boss to have an Aboriginal woman, as well as a European wife). They could not be too unpredictable, although quickness of temper and willingness to enter into conflict of some sort was admired. Bosses also needed a positive, or at least not antagonistic, attitude toward Aboriginal ways. I do not argue that this necessarily meant that bosses were assimilated, because this implies an acceptance of the indigenous world view, which I do not think happened. (However, some bosses certainly appeared to come close to assimilation, and others were clearly fascinated by Aborigines and their culture.) Nevertheless, the slotting of the European into the Aboriginal social system allowed successful interaction. Similarly, Aborigines could deal with Europeans in this way without accepting the European worldview, or even without knowing anything about it.

Seemingly (judging by actual bosses), other personal qualities such as strength of personality, physical stature, people being fearful or respectful of them were also important. In other words, bosses had qualities over and above their 'European-ness' or the structural dominance that this brought. I have summarised the various functions and roles of bosses in Table 14. All of those mentioned are actual examples drawn from my field work.

The literature contains numerous examples to suggest that the notion which I am putting forward of European bosses is not restricted to SECYP. Chase (1980) provides an excellent example in Hugh Giblet and 'Giblet-time' at Lloyd Bay in NECYP before World War One. Giblet was known as the 'Sandalwood King' and "his presence congregated [Aboriginal] groups for lengthy periods at Lloyd Bay" (Chase 1980:110). Giblet had dozens of Aborigines working for him, he acted as a broker for them with boat captains and crews who called there, he protected them against the abuses and exploitation of the latter, he placed trust and responsibility in them by letting Aborigines run his boats by themselves, he allowed them free movement over their country, he took several Aboriginal women as wives and he was generous to his 'affines' and with the whole camp in terms of food, alcohol, etc. Apart from certain other features of the situation which facilitated his position and good relations (e.g. Giblet was dealing with a culturally homogeneous group living on their own country), Chase notes (p. 111) that:

> Giblet's personal qualities must also be recognized. To Aborigines who had suffered from the contact process of the Nineteenth century, Giblet must have represented a spectacular advancement in their experience of Europeans. Here was a man who clearly had decided to make his life with them, who exhibited generosity, goodwill and none of the authoritarianism of other whites. He was, in the words of an informant, neither 'cheeky' [pugnacious and unpredictable], nor 'flash' [disdainful of Aborigines]. He brooked no interference from outsiders, and was like a 'King'.

TABLE 14

Traits and functions of European bosses

Relatively steady provision of food and other goods;
Negotiation of rations from government on behalf of group;
Delivery of health care to all and the 'minding' of sick, injured, old;
Introduction of new goods and other things from European society;
Protection. Aborigines see place as a refuge (from hostile Europeans and from other, antagonistic, Aborigines);
Association with one place or area for a constant and lengthy period;
Aboriginal language-learning capacity;
Influence over group. Called 'kings' sometimes;
Able to direct economic activities (not only wage labour: sent people out into bush for food at certain times);
Operated as a broker through which the group dealt with the outside world. Had special knowledge to allow this: i.e. could use the formal Standard English necessary for official communications. Literacy was often important;
Used by Aborigines as an 'appeal judge' in disputes (using appeal to boss's decision as an excuse for a certain course of action). More generally settling conflicts (e.g. boss being used to 'mind' spears when someone is angry and likely to use them); related to this, the boss is treated as a person who is able to operate above and beyond the 'normal' kinship obligations;
Provided legitimacy for camp's existence;
Used to define social boundaries: 'That's our boss.' or 'We don't have to listen to him. He's not our boss.';
Moral and sentimental attachment between bosses and groups, i.e. people feel obligated to a boss and have emotional ties;
Seen by Aborigines as willing to trust them;
Often called 'father' or, in case of a woman, 'mother'.

Similar situations existed with Missionary G.H. Schwarz at Cape Bedford Mission (later Hope Vale) north of Cooktown between 1887 and 1942 (see Rose 1978:37), with Missionary Strehlow at Finke River in Central Australia (see Hebart 1938:194) and Robert Christison of Lammermoor Station near Hughendon in north central Queensland in the late nineteenth century (see Bennett 1927; Loos 1982:49-50). The notion of bosses and the nature of their relationships with particular Aboriginal individuals which I have put forward, probably also explains famous Australian exploring pairs such as Kennedy and Jacky-Jacky and John Eyre and Wylie.

IX.4 Articulation processes and periods to 1956.

IX.4.1 Conservation.

Figure 25 shows in schematic form the relationship between the elements of the model described thus far in the thesis. In the figure we see the camps as the reproducing, corporate units of Kuku-Yalanji society. The majamajas' achieved status was defined primarily within the domestic or camp sphere, while in similar fashion the bosses' status was defined locally with respect to 'their' Aborigines. The former mediated on behalf of the camps between the Law and the realities of the natural and social orders, while the latter mediated between the macro-European domain and the camps. European bosses operated only within a particular intervention complex, but some complexes acted upon Aborigines independently of bosses. The role of young Kuku-Yalanji men and women was crucial in the relationship between on the one hand, Kuku-Yalanji majamaja and their camps, and on the other, the European bosses. Some bosses (e.g. Hislop) knew enough about the Kuku-Yalanji socio-cultural system not to need intermediaries. This was also true of several other bosses in SECYP. Most of them, though, generally operated through the medium of young men's labour or via sexual relationships with Kuku-Yalanji women. In Paine's (1971) terms, these men and women were acting as 'go-betweens', and as such were given status and power that had been unavailable to them previously. This fact had important implications for structural change and for a concurrent shift to another articulation period. I return to this shortly.

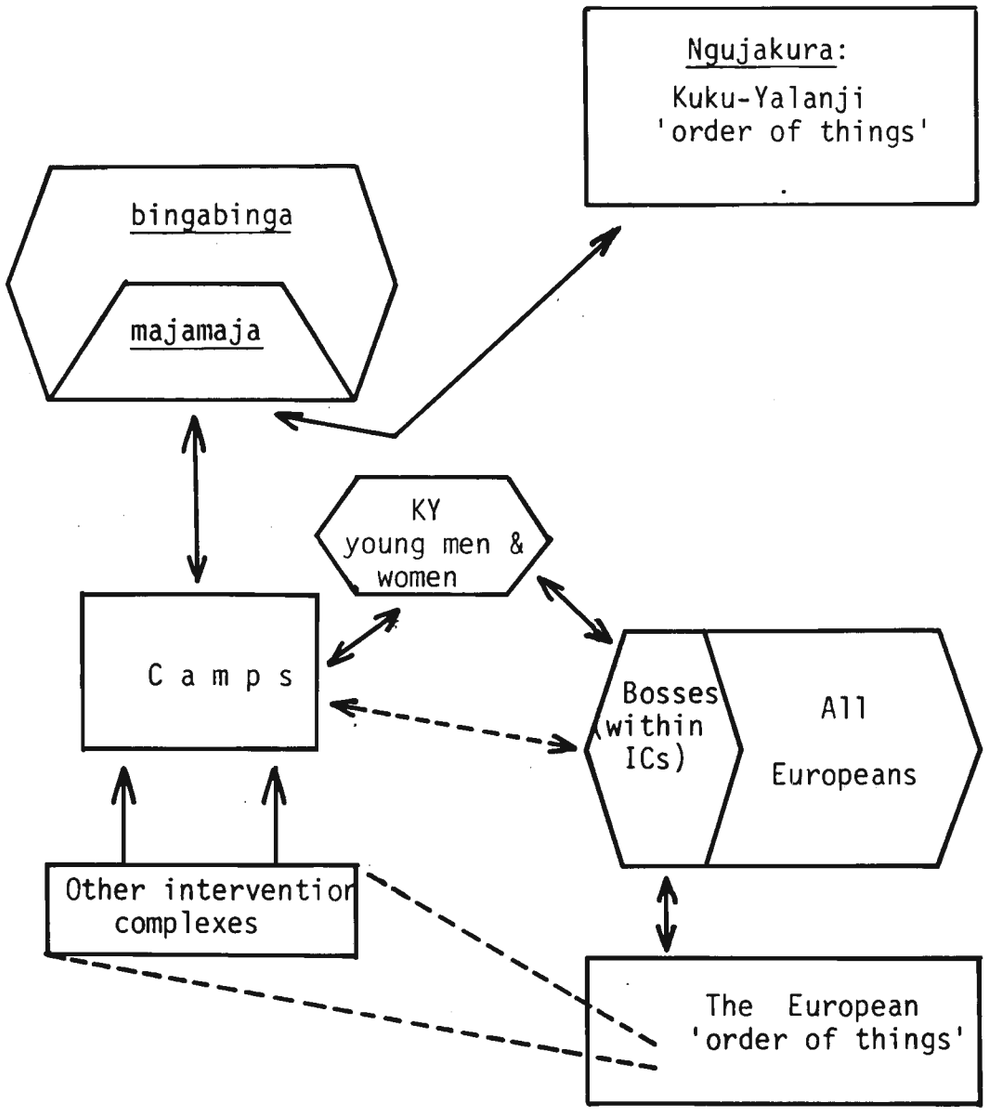

Figure 25 Interrelationships of articulation, SECYP.

The logic of the interrelationships between elements in the earliest period of articulation was of the form:
(i) A Kuku-Yalanji camp existed if it had an adequate site, access to resources, and most importantly, a maja.
(ii) If a camp existed or had the potential to exist, it had to have a relationship with a particular intervention complex, and one which fostered interaction instead of indifference or destruction.
(iii) In order for a camp to survive even with an appropriate intervention complex, it had to have a European boss.
If any of these conditions were not met, then a camp either dissolved or a group was unable to crystallize into a camp. Failure along these lines best accounts, I argue, for the dispersal and extinction of many Kuku-Yalanji groups since the European arrival.

On the other hand, when the above conditions were met, the Aboriginal mode of production was conserved. Even more than this, some intervention complexes - the positive ones (see above) - reinforced the pre-existing Kuku-Yalanji social relations of production. They allowed some majamaja to fulfill the ideal of permanent residence on their own estates, and of being able to better look after and provide for their mobs. This in turn generated, in the short term at least, more prestige and more power for these men. This conserving did not apply, though, to Kuku-Yalanji society as a whole. It only occurred in areas where there existed a combination of particular intervention complexes with particular mobs and their majamaja. Conserving was possible partly because of the nature of the intervention complexes, and partly because of the relatively autonomous nature of the mobs as domestic groups: the interaction patterns of one group did not necessarily condition or determine those of another. This is how there could occur violent contact in one area, while in an adjacent region there was active and peaceable interaction on the parts of both Aborigines and Europeans. Conserving also occurred because of the maintenance of camps in essentially the same form as in pre-European times and due to the continuing importance, not of bingabinga in general, but of majamaja, and especially those who utilised aspects of both the old and new orders to maintain their status.

But there was more than just a continuing independence of Aboriginal groups from the broader European economy (as Collmann 1981a argues occurred in the earlier stages of contact in Central Australia). The capitalist mode of production as manifest in particular intervention complexes actually reinforced the mode on which the existence of Kuku-Yalanji groups was based. This was due to the patterns of land use, the production processes and ownership patterns within complexes such as that of tin-mining, and due to the economic, demographic and political features and dynamic of the pre-1880 Aboriginal system. These conditions combined to allow some mobs to be maintained in a permanent setting difficult to maintain previously; it allowed majamaja a greater scope for exploitation of young Kuku-Yalanji men and women through their involvement with the European system and with their continuing involvement in bush production as well; the situation brought even more power and authority to majamaja and it brought prestige to mobs through their affiliation with European bosses and their ready access to European goods. Thus what was conserved were the camps and their mobs - the basic unit in the pre-contact Aboriginal social formation; what was reinforced was the position of the focal individuals for those units - the majamaja.

Reasons for this pattern of articulation characterised by conservation are complex. I have already discussed some of the factors inherent in the Aboriginal system which brought about the pattern as I have described it. There are other factors, though, which were independent of this system. Firstly, I must state that I am not suggesting that conservation was a general form of articulation for Australian contact history as a whole. The patterns elsewhere must be empirically determined. My argument is that a set of specific conditions prevailed in SECYP in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which, when combined with what was going on in Kuku-Yalanji society at the time, produced the maintenance of aspects of the latter. These conditions included the role of chance, in that Kuku-Yalanji 'happened' to live in SECYP where there existed particular resources which brought particular forms of European activity (cf. Sacks 1979). There was also a degree of environmental determinism because, due to the nature of the terrain and vegetation, certain forms of European settlement and activity were not possible. This brought about what we could term partial penetration by the capitalist mode. The dominance of

tin-mining in the area and the nature of its relations of production also played a large part in the conservation pattern (see Chapter VI). Finally, especially in the first thirty years of European settlement in SECYP, Aboriginal labour was an important part of the European economy there (see V.8; VI.3.2).

The first period of articulation between the capitalist mode of production and the indigenous mode in SECYP was thus characterised by the conservation and reinforcement of the latter by the former. However this was only the case for particular domestic groups and not for Kuku-Yalanji society as a whole; and only the case with particular intervention complexes and not for capitalism as a whole.

IX.4.2 Structural change and subordination.

However, change to a new phase of articulation between modes in this area came fairly rapidly. This phase was characterised by the subordination of the Aboriginal mode of production to the capitalist mode. It is to the changes associated with this phase that I now turn. The changes which came to Kuku-Yalanji society with this new form of articulation were considerable. I discuss three main topics here: changes in the relations of production within the Aboriginal system, particularly relations between old men and young men and between men and women; demographic effects; and the cultural and ideological impact of articulation.

IX.4.2.1 Changes in relations of production.

The second phase of articulation brought about important changes in the relations of production in Kuku-Yalanji society. These changes primarily involved, not surprisingly, those Kuku-Yalanji persons who were most disadvantaged under the 'old order'. In the case of young men, their position as go-betweens brought about by them working for Europeans on behalf of their older male relatives, also made the young men part of a relationship which was to a large extent independent of Aboriginal relations. It also gave them access to things which conferred status, for example, knowledge concerning new technology: use of guns, matches, etc. The nganja or initiation ceremonies in SECYP came to a halt in the 1930s. This may have been an attempt on the part

of bingabinga to reassert their power over their young men by withholding the transition to a new and higher status position. On the other hand, the cessation may simply have been due to a lack of interest on the part of those same young men. Either way, nganja never again operated as the symbol of transition to a potentially more powerful state and similarly, the control of such ceremonies was no longer an expression of status and power. Nor did the ceremony continue as a utilitarian device or context for the transference of the knowledge seen as important for the reproduction of the social relations which Ngujakura represented. The other avenues to different kinds of status and power became more attractive to young men.

I have already discussed (in VI.6) the tensions arising from the fact that young Kuku-Yalanji men were in some ways independent of the bingabinga and majamaja and yet still subject to their control in most spheres. Possibly because of this and with overall reduced population numbers (see next section), and therefore reduced numbers of possible marriage partners, young men began to look further afield and outside the Annan and Bloomfield valleys for spouses. Kuku-Yalanji women also began increasingly to marry the non-Kuku-Yalanji men who had come into the area attracted to the centres of steady European goods supply and to safe, permanent Aboriginal camps. Table 15 shows that from 1886 to 1956, Kuku-Yalanji people were tending overall to go further afield for spouses. During the period 1941-1956, 45% of marriages were with outsiders (non-Kuku-Yalanji), whereas there had been no marriages of this type prior to 1900. Table 16 shows where the non-Kuku-Yalanji spouses were coming from. This trend acted, of course, to increase the range of potential marriage partners and the range of post-marital residence for a young couple. This would allow one or both partners to escape or avoid somewhat the sphere of influence of older men (in that the latter's power and position were often bound to specific locales and to specific relationships). With the potential for marriage with outsiders, the power of older men in determining or controlling the choice of spouse was also reduced.

The other outcome of the 'new order' which must have aided a process of fairly major structural change in Kuku-Yalanji society concerned the position and actions of women. The ability of Kuku-Yalanji women to gain independent access to resources previously channelled exclusively by the older men was a wholly new phenomenon and

TABLE 15

Kuku-Yalanji marriages by patriclan estates of partners

	A	B	C	Total
1886 - 1915	24 (46.2%)	15 (28.8%)	13 (25%)	52
1916 - 1940	29 (43.3%)	23 (34.3%)	15 (22.4%)	67
1941 - 1956	12 (38.7%)	5 (16.1%)	14 (45.2%)	31
1886 - 1956	65 (43.3%)	43 (28.7%)	42 (28%)	150

A = number of marriages with both partners from the same clan estate cluster; these include only those marriages actually contracted during the period.

B = number of marriages where partners are from different clan estate clusters, but within the Kuku-Yalanji complex.

C = number of marriages with "outsiders" (i.e. non Kuku-Yalanji).

TABLE 16

Area of origin of "outsider" spouses, 1886-1956*

1886 - 1915	2	Chinese
	4	"Cooktown-side" (Green Hill, Archer Point, Oakey Creek)
	2	"Daintree-side"
	1	European
	1	"Island-man"
	3	"Mareeba-side"
1916 - 1940	4	"Cooktown-side"
	3	"Normanby/Laura/Coen-side"
	2	"Mossman-side"
	2	"Island-man"
	1	Hope Vale
	1	Lower Daintree
	1	"Mareeba-side"
	1	European
1941 - 1956	4	Hope Vale
	4	"Normanby/Laura/Coen-side"
	2	"Cooktown-side"
	2	Lower Daintree
	1	"Mareeba-side"
	1	"Mossman-side"

N.B. * This does not include temporary 'sweetheart' liaisons.

helped spell the beginning of the end for the kind of dominance basic to Kuku-Yalanji social relations of production. This subversion and independent action no doubt helped contribute to the end of the betrothal marriage system. By 1977, only three out of twenty post-1955 marriages were between partners who had been promised to each other. Women's actions also seemed to contribute to a general decrease in the power of old men to control marriage at all; recall the dramatic increase in marriage to outsiders by Kuku-Yalanji noted above.

There was also the issue of Kuku-Yalanji women and European men. One thing which the women could use independently of the normal channels in order to obtain goods and resources was their attractiveness to European men, especially at the male-dominated, smaller tin-camps and other similar settlements. This was something which could be controlled by older Kuku-Yalanji men only with some difficulty. Kuku-Yalanji women made, as now termed in Aboriginal English, 'sweethearts' of some European men. This was ostensibly to gain access to the latter's food, tobacco and other goods. The point cannot be dismissed,however, that Kuku-Yalanji women may have actively sought European men for their exotic appeal. In some cases, the women seem to have initiated sexual relationships as much as the Europeans did. Successful maintenance of a long-term relationship also meant for Kuku-Yalanji women access to what they may have seen as a more favourable lifestyle or at least as independent access to power and status. This may have especially been so given the dominated and exploited position of women in Kuku-Yalanji society which I described in IV.3. Access to goods may have only been an obvious representation or outcome of the relationship. As far as sexual exploitation of Kuku-Yalanji women by European men is concerned, instances of abuse certainly did occur. Yet older Kuku-Yalanji women in the late 1970s spoke of <u>themselves</u> as often actively initiating sexual liaisons with European men when they were young (sometimes in spite of what their husbands thought). Their comments go against portrayals such as those by Evans (1982) of these relationships as being always and inevitably characterised by white exploitation of Aborigines. While we are able to speak of structural dominance by Europeans in such situations, Aboriginal women in SECYP from their perspective were the ones who were often using the white men. Idriess (1980 [1959]:221) gives an example of this from his days at China Camp:

> Apart from paying for little odd jobs, such as washing and carrying supplies of firewood and water, it is hard indeed to resist the wheedling of a couple of smiling young lubras expertly showing off their bodies while pleading with outstretched hands just freshly washed at the creek for 'little bit a tabac or little bit a flour' . . . and of course these 'maids of the glen' could certainly pick their marks, and with amazing quickness learn to get around a man, instinctively noting his little ways, habits and fancies.

Goods which were received in the course of relationships with tin-miners or other Europeans were rarely taken back to camp, but rather consumed immediately or secreted in the bush for later (see Idriess 1980 [1959]:227). This was because of the possible punishment from their Aboriginal men for dealing independently with whites - not so much from jealousy, as cohabitation with whites by Kuku-Yalanji women was often condoned and encouraged when it suited the Aboriginal men. This latter was sometimes - as with Robert Hislop, for instance - part of the incorporation process. Rather, Kuku-Yalanji men were probably concerned more about the implications of women setting up, independently of them, relations (sexual, social and economic) with other men, who happened also to be powerful and largely beyond the extent of their influence.

Kuku-Yalanji men thus were quite ambivalent in their feelings about Kuku-Yalanji women and their relations with white men (and they must have wondered at the asymmetrical nature of relations in that they had no access to European women). This often strained not only male-female relations in Kuku-Yalanji society, but also those between men as well. I know of one case in the 1920s where a European man at the Main Camp tin-mining area was living with the daughter of a China Camp Aboriginal man with the latter's full approval (partly because the old man was thus assured plenty of tobacco). However, the betrothed husband of the woman was not as happy about the arrangement (and nor, apparently, was the woman herself). He organized his relatives (and, interestingly, the woman's brothers) to steal the woman back and to threaten to spear the European man involved. They were successful and the man left the area. The promised husband and the woman then moved to the Thompson Creek camp to live.

One outcome of the relations between Kuku-Yalanji women and European men was, of course, mixed-descent children (see below). The responses of the European fathers to their children and their Aboriginal mothers were several:

i) They would support the children with food and money without having continuing relations with them or their mother (very rare). With this situation I have seen relatives of the woman regard the man as kin (because of his former relationship to the woman) without him realizing it;

ii) The European man would maintain informal marriage relations with the mother and support the children (e.g. Hislop and at least half a dozen other cases in SECYP);

iii) The man would look after the children after the mother went off with another Aboriginal or European man. The father of Norman and Charlie Baird is an example here (see VIII.2). In other cases, the men took the children as 'property' and raised them for labour purposes (see Old 1906);

iv) The man would not acknowledge any relationship and ignored both child and mother. This was probably the most common action, although it must have been difficult to maintain if the man stayed in the area for a long time.

Attitudes of Kuku-Yalanji men towards the children varied, depending on whether or not a husband (and his family) knew of the liaison and circumstances which produced the child. If not, then in the early days at least, the child was sometimes killed at birth, usually by the husband stamping on its chest (see Roth 1906). On the other hand, there were other such children who were 'grown up' by the mother's husband and treated no differently whatsoever to his own children. In other cases, the child was raised by its mother's father.

The crucial and defining element of Kuku-Yalanji social relations of production was the domination of younger men and all women by older Kuku-Yalanji men. The second phase of articulation between CMP and AMP in SECYP brought about significant changes in this relationship. There were concurrent ideological changes too, to which I will return below.

IX.4.2.2 Demographic effects.

Another set of consequences of the new patterns of Kuku-Yalanji social and economic relationship concerned the composition, size and location of the Kuku-Yalanji population.

As I noted above, a prominent effect of Kuku-Yalanji women's relationships with European men was the appearance of mixed-descent children. Very few old Kuku-Yalanji women today (and those in their mothers' generation as well) have not had such a child. For the period 1895-1951, I have confirmed records of 54 Kuku-Yalanji women having one or more children by either European, Malay or Chinese men. If the children survived infancy and were accepted by their mother's husband, they and their mothers had then to avoid being removed as a 'half-caste' or 'Aboriginal parent of a half-caste', which were crimes punishable by removal under Section 9 of the Aborigines Protection Act of 1897-1939 and its subsequent versions up to 1965. For the fifty years from 1906 I have record of almost fifty people being removed from SECYP for this reason alone (see Table 17). One Kuku-Yalanji woman, Mabel Webb, explained:

> Aboriginal women here got a white-fella 'husband' and then had children. Policemen didn't like half-castes, only full-bloods. Well, we couldn't help it. There was no town here before. The old women went for white men. They got food from them. Slept with them. Then they had half-caste children. My mother [MZ-] had a half-caste son, my grandfather had another daughter who had two half-caste sons. Cooktown policemen were mad in the early days. Not now. They can't do anything now. In the old days they caught half-castes and always sent them away.

As I discussed in VI.6, there were other reasons for removal: not having a job, causing trouble with other people's spouses, using alcohol or opium, as well as normal criminal offenses such as theft, assault, etc. Repeated offences of any of these led to a person being termed an 'incorrigible', which assured removal. As Table 17 shows, a total of 91 people were removed from this area for all reasons. Overall I estimate, some 15-20% of the Kuku-Yalanji population was taken

TABLE 17

Kuku-Yalanji removals from South-east Cape York Peninsula, 1906-1955 (incomplete)

A		B	
males:	16	males:	26
females:	18	females:	11
children:	10	children:	10
Total:	44	Total:	47

Grand Total: 91

A = removed as "Half-Caste" or as an Aboriginal parent of Half-Caste child

B = removed for other reason.

away by the police and deposited at various southern government settlements.

There were population reductions for other reasons too. Some Kuku-Yalanji, particularly those with no Europeans on their countries, left the Annan and Bloomfield areas voluntarily. Introduced disease was probably the most significant factor in overall reductions. Police Magistrate Hodgkinson, in a report made after inspecting the first Bloomfield mission station in October 1886, has a section entitled 'Diseases'. Here he noted that the Aborigines at the mission:

> . . . bear no traces and possess no records of smallpox. Syphilitic disease was introduced by whites. Fever and ague are rife and severe; boils, sores and rheumatism are common. Recently nearly every child born during the past twelve months and several adults have died from an eruptive disorder called 'gangolgee' which starting in the gums ultimately eats the face clean away. An application of nitrate of silver has proved efficacious if used in an early stage of the malady. (Hodgkinson 1886:5)

Elsewhere in the report Hodgkinson notes that "no birth has taken place since June, but 16 deaths, all from 'gangkulgee'[1] have occurred.

Roth in an 1898 report made several comments on the health of Aborigines in the various Kuku-Yalanji camps: At Banabila he stated that "The sick ones numbered 7 (4 children, 1 woman and 2 men) [out of a total of 34] . . . The sickness is syphilis, in the case of all the children, being on the sides of the mouth, [and] at the angles of the lips . . . Osmundson says that the disease has appeared only within the last four or five years. Parasitic skin disease is common" (Roth 1898a:2-3). He also noted somewhat cryptically, that "the women [at Banabila] are prolific" - meaning, I think, that they produced quite a number of children. At Wayalwayal Roth noted that "Syphilis is rife among 2 of the adults, and 3 of the children [out of 37 total], one of the latter having its testicles as well as the lips affected; there is also one blind old woman and one lame one" (p. 3). At the mission

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1. This is possibly kangkalji, 'being with child', but more likely it is kangkulji, 'of the cheek'.

station he reported "5 syphilitics, 3 children and 2 adults [out of 35 total] (p. 10). And at China Camp: "about 13 out of the 60" were ill (p. 11). According to this report, over 18% of the Bloomfield Aboriginal population were suffering from some introduced disease and most of these from venereal disease.

Official reports on Bloomfield from the early 1950s note the prevalence of hookworm, ringworm, skin ulcers and sores (see Whitmore 1952; Rose 1982). Apparently anaemia (resulting from hookworm) was also widespread and several deaths of women in childbirth occurred because of this during this period. There were also periodic epidemics of influenza, gastro-enteritis and measles, all of which caused numerous deaths. Respiratory illnesses were also common in the 1950s (see Hartwig n.d. p. 8). Overall Kuku-Yalanji death rates from disease between 1886 and the 1950s are difficult to calculate. From my genealogies of one mob at the Bloomfield River Mission in the late 1970s, out of 52 people in three generations, at least 15 had died of introduced illnesses as infants, children or as young adults.

As far as overall population changes are concerned, only rough estimates are possible. Assuming nine clan estates in the upper Annan and 17 in the Bloomfield valley, and assuming an average patriclan size of 20 persons, we obtain a total pre-1880 Kuku-Yalanji population of about 500 people. In 1886 Hodgkinson noted a total of 224 primarily Bloomfield Aborigines in the area (Hodgkinson 1886:12). Roth in 1898, after listing all the different camps and their sizes, stated that in the Annan and Bloomfield regions, "we have . . . altogether about 300 aboriginals to deal with" (Roth 1898a:2). There had been no Aboriginal removals at this stage. In 1958, the Lutheran missionaries reported 133 Aborigines at Bloomfield, including ex-Annan people.[2] These figures, then, suggest a population reduction from all causes, by the turn of the century of about 40%, and by the 1950s, about 70%. That this reduction is primarily due to removals and death due to disease is suggested by my data that the crude rate for numbers of live children born per female actually increases for the period before 1900 (26 women had an average of 2.6 children each) compared with a rate between 1900 and 1955 of 86 women bearing an average of 3.0 children each. Reduced violence between

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2. Cited in Report for 1958 of Bloomfield Mission, Box 18, U.E.L.C.A. archives.

Aborigines - or at least violence leading to death - following European arrival (the last death by spearing of which I have firm knowledge was in 1903; see Roth 1904), may have countered-balanced the decline of the population associated with other causes.

In addition to population decrease, there were also geographic shifts in the Kuku-Yalanji population. I have already mentioned moves by Aborigines out of areas with no European settlement. As I described in Chapters VI-VIII the greatest concentrations of Kuku-Yalanji - the largest camps - were in association with permanent Europeans. Table 18 shows that an increasing number of births were occurring outside of people's own estates and their estate cluster areas or 'nations' (see III.2.3). Table 10 in Chapter VI showed that most of these births were also, in fact, taking place at the major camps.

IX.4.2.3. Cultural and ideological impact.

There was significant impact on a number of areas of Kuku-Yalanji culture brought about by the European presence in general, but also by the form which Kuku-Yalanji adaptation took during both phases of articulation. I want to look at two areas only of this change. The first includes instances of the positive or active incorporation of elements of European culture into that of Kuku-Yalanji culture. Secondly, I discuss the effects of the new social and residential arrangements on Ngujakura, the ideological system associated with Kuku-Yalanji relations of production.

The active incorporation of certain European cultural elements involved several domains. At the simplest level, there was assimilation of English words into Kuku-Yalanji phonemic shapes. Below is a fairly comprehensive list of such words gathered by W. and L. Oates in September 1959 at Jajikal and Dikarr, by H. and R. Hershberger from 1961 on and by myself at Bloomfield River Mission between 1977 and 1982. The nature of the items represented also accurately depicts the content of contact relations in this period before the second mission started.

naybu - 'knife'	wulbuman - 'old woman'
baybu - 'pipe'	wulman - 'old man'
bilangkurr - 'blanket'	mijiji - 'European woman'
yangkija - 'handkerchief'	waybul - 'European man' (Bl'd)

TABLE 18

Changes in Kuku-Yalanji birth-site locations, 1886-1955*

1886 - 1915	n = 20	(out of 39 - 51.3%)	within p/c estate
	n = 3	(out of 25 - 12%)	within m/c estate
1916 - 1940	n = 23	(out of 65 - 35.4%)	within p/c estate
	n = 13	(out of 42 - 31%)	within m/c estate
1941 - 1955	n = 16	(out of 53 - 30.2%)	within p/c estate
	n = 4	(out of 54 - 7.4%)	within m/c estate
1886 - 1915	n = 32	(out of 39 - 82%)	within clan estate cluster
1916 - 1940	n = 40	(out of 65 - 61.5%)	within clan estate cluster
1941 - 1955	n = 28	(out of 53 - 53%)	within clan estate cluster

p/c = patriclan

m/c = matriclan

* Figures are only given where accurate details are known. These are thus not the totals of all births.

maji - 'matches'	waybala - 'European man' (Annan)
baya - 'fire'	bikibiki - 'pig'
niyil - 'nail'	bulki - 'bullock', 'cattle'
karijin - 'kerosene'	baki - 'dray'
kilaja - 'glass'	muduka - 'motorcar'
burin - 'bread'	burril - 'bridle'
mangku - 'mango'	wuybu - 'whip'
marijin - 'medicine'	karri - 'soup' (from 'curry')
diyi - 'tea'	jarruja - 'trousers'
maja - 'boss'	jukijuki - 'chickens'

Sources: Oates & Oates 1964; Hershberger & Hershberger 1982; Anderson field notes 1977-1982.

These words have been converted where necessary to the orthography of this thesis. I do not include here other words such as yarraman ('horse') or buliman ('police'), which are widespread elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia. Their commonness perhaps confirms their status as almost the universal initial contact items in northern Australia.

On the other hand, some Kuku-Yalanji words were actively adapted to express new concepts derived from the European sphere.

bujal (any crushed edible substance) - 'European flour'
jandu (boggy surface) - 'porridge'
dunju (cycad nut crushed to coarse powder) - Any European foodstuff in coarse powder form
dirka (cycad nut crushed to fine powder) - Any European foodstuff in fine powder form
bakul (a poison leaf medicine, unidentified sp.) - 'tobacco'
jikabirra (jika = any squishy food; birra = 'leaf') - tobacco
mararr (canoe sail made from plaited palm leaves) - cloth, calico
mirrba (woomera used for defense in punishment) - 'rifle'
diburr ('seed' or 'egg') - 'bullet' or 'tablet'
walkandu (?) - the English language
kulji ('stone') - 'money'
dukul ('head') - 'boss'

Sources: As for previous list.

Similarly, Kuku-Yalanji concepts were used to label introduced animals, e.g. dukuljukuji [dukul = 'head', jukuji = 'spikey'] or milkajukuji [milka = 'ear'], which were used for any horned animal.

English personal names were often adopted (as well as being imposed, see VI.5) by Kuku-Yalanji. These names often reflected, as with Kuku-Yalanji names, personal physical traits or propensities: e.g. Charlie Cranky, Long Dickie, Sugar (because he liked so much sugar in his tea), Junkie (short for Jangkalangka, jangka = 'stone', but also 'money'. The term was used for the man because he always wanted money for doing things for relatives), Whitehand Corporal (his first name being a direct translation of his 'bush name' Mara-bingaji); or English names for personal or clan totems, e.g. Mickey Bluetongue; or English names from one's estate or camp of residence, e.g. Dickie Springvale, Jimmy Rossville, Charlie Archerpoint, or personal name based on one's occupation or that of one's boss, e.g. Johnny Butcher. I have already mentioned the common Kuku-Yalanji adoption of European bosses' names. Of course there were also names given by Europeans as a joke (e.g. two brothers called 'Tea' and 'Sugar') or adopted by Aborigines because they liked the sound of a phrase (e.g. 'Billy God Help Us'). These names were often only used in certain contexts - e.g by people of other groups or in official situations), as Kuku-Yalanji individuals generally had multiple names. European names were more public than peoples' bush names.

Another area of incorporation was that of Kuku-Yalanji dance and songs. This involved, for example, adoption of European things or people as subjects of 'traditional' dances: e.g. the waybala or 'old stockman' dance in which a limping old white stockman looking for his cattle is mimicked. There was also the adoption of whole European dances or songs as a form: e.g. 'English dance', which was a type of square dancing using accordion and guitar. This was done at Shipton's Flat and Nunnville in the 1920s by Kuku-Nyungkul. Country and western music has also been considered by Kuku-Yalanji to be 'Aboriginal music' since at least the early 1950s. The spread of cultural elements was not just between Europeans and Aborigines: the articulation pattern in the twentieth century also meant increasing contact between Aboriginal (and Islander) groups from all over CYP with increased mobility, and of course, also via such 'hot beds' of Aboriginal interchange as Palm Island (the government's major removal settlement) the results of which

were fed back into the local systems as people returned home from such settlements. Several 'traditional' dances spread throughout SECYP, and probably beyond. At Bloomfield in at least the 1960s and 1970s, apart from Kuku-Yalanji dances, there were central and southern CYP dance styles including:

Warrma - "From 'Kuranda-side'."
Yalkaka - "From 'Laura-side'."
Kunba - "From 'Kuku-Mini-side' (Palmerville)."
Malkarri - "From 'Chillagoe-, Mareeba-side'."

There was also 'Island-style' singing (see Chase 1980), which came via two men from the Coen/Lockhart River area who had married two Bloomfield sisters who had been removed to Lockhart. These men brought this style to Bloomfield in the early 1960s, along with the use of a flour tin as a drum in 'normal' Kuku-Yalanji songs. Also during this time the 'Hula' was adopted as a proper Kuku-Yalanji woman's dance.

Another area of cultural change was in the sphere of mythology and in the Kuku-Yalanji belief system generally. The involvement of Europeans and their concepts here shows the active and ethnocentric Kuku-Yalanji attempts at inclusion of the former into their world view.

On the one hand, certain European belief elements were readily assimilated into Kuku-Yalanji myths or stories, or else European stories (e.g. Bible stories) were interpreted in Kuku-Yalanji terms. For example, the kija ('moon') story is the major creation myth in SECYP (see McConnel 1931). This story recounts the creation of woman from the body of man (men had always been there of course). Since the return of the missionaries in 1957, Kuku-Yalanji have assumed the equivalence of this with the Adam and Eve Creation story. The fact that Adam and Eve are eating a 'forbidden' fruit in the story has also been interpreted in Kuku-Yalanji terms. They say that their stories also show them the 'right' and 'wrong' foods to eat. Similarly the story of Cain and Abel burning a sheep carcass is seen to display a process identical to Kuku-Yalanji guilt divination by smoke path interpretation.

On the other hand, Europeans were generally seen as being subject to the same spiritual forces inherent in the Kuku-Yalanji landscape as were Kuku-Yalanji themselves. A European woman living near Cedar Bay had a baby with severe birth defects. This was explained by Kuku-

Yalanji by the fact that she and her husband used to picnic near Marbaymba, a 'story site' on Fritz Creek. Another European with a limp and one with a jaw deformity were also explained by reference to them breaking site access rules. Europeans were also said to have been lost and never found in the caves of the Black Mountains near Helenvale. These cases are attributed by Kuku-Yalanji to those people being taken by a yirru at a site there. In another case, a dubu or 'devil-spirit' was said to have taken a small European boy on the upper Daintree and a Kuku-Yalanji traditional doctor was called in to find him. European actions at sites, even although usually through ignorance, could, in the same way as that of Kuku-Yalanji, bring about environmental consequences - e.g. bushfires, floods, thunderstorms or unseasonal food shortages. Many such occurrences on the Annan during the tin era were attributed to site violation on the part of miners.

Mythological events also happened in post-European times. In the late 1970s I recorded a story about a man who was in the third generation above the then eldest Kuku-Yalanji. This man had been working for a tin miner at Grasstree on the upper Annan and dropped a hammer into the ('story') waterhole there. His attempts to retrieve the hammer and the supernatural things which happened to him there are now another major Kuku-Yalanji myth. Likewise, Romeo, who "been first show'a bubu ['country'] to waybala", and who first found tin on the Annan (see Chapter V), has now himself attained mythological status. And finally, Captain Cook, who actually did land at Weary Bay, has also become a culture hero. Like others of these heroes, he left traces of his travels over the landscape: a design carved into the rock at Wangkubaja and the lighthouse at Archer Point.[3] Captain Cook is also seen as the archetypal European, the symbol of the whiteman's arrival in SECYP. As John Walker described it:

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3. The rock engraving is probably a survey marker. There is no record of Cook having left any at Bloomfield. The mark is similar to a natural rock impression further south near Emmogen Creek which is a 'traditional' story site. Kuku-Yalanji perception is also that Cook travelled far beyond their own country 'leaving' things: When two Kuku-Yalanji men came to Brisbane, they asked about the 'Story Bridge' and the 'Captain Cook Bridge' (two major bridges in the inner city) in this context (cf. Chase 1980:112).

> Well bama reckon - some 'nother fella reckon - Captain Cook, he been buy this place with tobacco. Give it to Aboriginal. Tobacco. Well, he get this country. I don't know. He should'a give money, eh. He rough fella, eh? That's what some bama tell 'nother fella, he give'em lotta tobacco . . . That's why waybala comin' in now. Too many comin' in. Can't stop'em. If bama been wake up first, all right. Say: "Well, I don't get a tobacco. You might as well give money." But bama can't speak English. Captain Cook. That's the fella. He been give that steel axe, tommyhawk. And now waybala got'a country.

Some European-introduced foodstuffs were also made subject to Kuku-Yalanji food taboos - for example, mangoes and oranges could not be eaten in the presence of a man's 'mother-in-law', and tinned shellfish such as oysters came to be treated just as bush ones were (e.g. a man could not receive them from his Z+).

Whatever the assimilation of European concepts or European actions in SECYP into Kuku-Yalanji culture, there was at least by the 1950s, the recognition that ultimately there were two different sets of beliefs or Laws. As one Kuku-Yalanji man, Bob Yerrie, remarked in 1977:

> Everybody got story, eh? Waybala, bama. Nganjinga ['our'] law, might be good law, I don't know. Belong to bama. I don't know what belong to waybul. Might be waybul gotta law . . . different law.

There were new cultural elements which, as they were adopted or adapted by Kuku-Yalanji, became status indicators. In a more trivial sense, things such as items of European clothing worn in a particular way periodically came through SECYP as fashions, and, as in European society, there were 'in-groups, and 'out-groups'. In other words, the fashions were not only status indicators, they were group markers, and powerful individuals and groups were manipulators of these symbols. As Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal children grew up, skin colour also became a status indicator: both light skin and dark skin being valued and de-valued in different contexts. Thus what were in one sense symbols of contact became new representations of power, and as such were used as

weapons in ongoing Kuku-Yalanji political processes. This was true of Kuku-Yalanji persons already powerful and in positions of high status in competition with each other. It was also true of persons in subordinate positions in Kuku-Yalanji society, particularly young men. As I mentioned in Chapter VI, having a good European boss and a permanent camp accorded great prestige on the Kuku-Yalanji maja, and by association, his mob. And certain things were adopted to symbolize this association: adoption of bosses' names, use of bosses horse or wagon, use of an old item of clothing (e.g. a hat) from the boss, being able to give away European food to other Aborigines. The naming of a 'King' by police - especially, as in one of the cases described in Chapter VIII, when the person was already of high status - conferred prestige on family members for several generations (the whole family often adopted the surname 'King' thereafter). Also, as I noted in my case studies, status was conferred via European occupations: among the high status ones were stockman, miner, and driver (the latter two of which were positions from which Aborigines were normally excluded).

Another important set of changes concerned Ngujakura and its control by older Kuku-Yalanji men. The new social and residential arrangements which helped majamaja in the first articulation period to increase their already considerable power and to fulfill the ideals of Ngujakura were also to bring about subversion of this ideology in the second period. I have discussed above those changes which occurred in Kuku-Yalanji relations of production which involved new roles for young men and women in general. The power of older Kuku-Yalanji men to control the production and distribution of goods must have been considerably diminished in the second period. The cessation of the initiation ceremonies for young men was a symbol of the partial demise of that part of Kuku-Yalanji ideology which represented the precontact relations of production and domination. I have also noted that the increased mobility and expansion of the range of marriage partners reduced the extent of control which old men had over young people (and their children). Destruction of sites and flouting of site access rules by Europeans would also have helped to diminish traditional bingabinga authority. Ngujakura as an ideological basis for a particular set of relationships - between people, and between people and land - clearly became undermined and radically altered through the articulation process.

The perception on the part of younger Kuku-Yalanji persons of the diminishing power of Ngujakura, along with the new ways of obtaining power and status and the decreasing amount of control which bingabinga had, all contributed to a slow structural transformation of Kuku-Yalanji society. Some of the very conditions which allowed the maintenance of aspects of Kuku-Yalanji social organization and which fostered, early on, the political dominance of older men, also brought about changes in basic aspects of the Aboriginal mode of production.

IX.4.2.4 Subordination.

The changes which I have discussed above were causes as well as effects of a new phase of articulation between the European and indigenous modes of production. This phase though, rather than being characterised by conservation as with the latter, brought about its subordination. By subordination, I mean that the functioning of the mode of production on which Kuku-Yalanji society was based came to be dominated by the needs and functioning of CMP. In other words, the indigenous mode became the dependent variable in the contact relationship (see Godelier 1974:63). There were several reasons for this.

Firstly, the forces of production in the Aboriginal economy were dramatically altered. Degradation of the environment through European activity clearly played something of a role here. As I noted in Chapter VI, this was especially apparent with stream and creek damage and with the introduction of exotic animals. These factors put pressure on indigenous resources and production, leading to a reduced ability of the economy to support Aboriginal groups. The occupation by Europeans of areas of prime Kuku-Yalanji usage would also have had great economic and political implications for those individuals and groups whose land was involved. A dependence on new items of technology and food resources also aided in bringing about the subordination of the Kuku-Yalanji system. The labour time spent away from economic activities in the traditional sphere would have furthered increased the dependence on the European sector as a context in which to make a living.

Secondly, there were the greatly altered relations of production in the Aboriginal mode which I discussed above. Associated with this were the supplanting by European bosses of the role of majamaja in Kuku-

Yalanji life, and the undermining of the ideological systems integral to traditional relations of production. Probably the most significant aspect of the subordination inherent in this second phase of articulation was that European bosses became an essential part of the reproduction of Aboriginal life in SECYP. The reason for Aboriginal moves away from their home countries, which occurred even when Aborigines had continued access to bush and European resources, was a simple one: they had no boss. And from the early twentieth century onwards, a boss was as essential to the reproduction of the Kuku-Yalanji system as the majamaja had been before. This made Kuku-Yalanji part of a very different system of which they had little knowledge and little or no control. On the upper Annan, Kuku-Nyungkul camps broke up when their bosses had no means of support with the decline of the tin industry there. In the Bloomfield area, the situation was complicated further by the intervention of the state and its desire to sever the boss-Aboriginal group relationship in line with ideological dictates: specifically that Aborigines were to be centralised absolutely and that control of them be placed in the hands of the police. At Bloomfield, pressure brought to bear on bosses along these lines (although for different reasons in both cases), caused the demise of two camps - Wujalwujal and Wayalwayal. By the 1950s most Kuku-Yalanji resided in the three remaining camps at Bloomfield which had been able to maintain their mobs through various boss arrangements. But their days were numbered too, by the reassertion of state control over Kuku-Yalanji life. This was done more successfully than before, partly because the government installed a boss of their own at Bloomfield (see next chapter).

I suggest that the above changes and the ensuing domination of the Aboriginal mode of production in SECYP by the capitalist mode: (i) came about not as a general contact phenomenon, but rather as a result of the nature of the pre-existing Kuku-Yalanji system, the specific nature of the intervention complexes in this area, and the pattern of the first period of articulation; (ii) were typical only of the second period of articulation in this area; (iii) secured what eventually would be the encapsulation of Kuku-Yalanji into the broader Australian political and economic system.

IX.5 Conclusion.

This chapter has analysed the data presented in the case studies in Part 3 of this thesis and argued that a notion of periodic articulation with two successive phases - conservation, then subordination - best explains the changes in the political economy of SECYP in the period up to the late 1950s.

PART 4: MOBS AND BOSSES IN MISSION-TIME, 1957-1980.

Chapter X: The Bloomfield River Mission: Centralization and Kuku-Yalanji mobs.

> So the history of the types of articulation ... [is] written not only in the past but also in the present (Dupre & Rey 1973:163).

X.1 Introduction.

In the thesis thus far I have described contact processes in SECYP for the period up to the late 1950s and mid-1960s. I have also put forward an explanation of these processes. This explanation consisted of a depiction of the contact era as a social formation characterised by the articulation of the mode of production on which Kuku-Yalanji society was based with particular instances of the capitalist mode of production. This articulation had two distinct phases. During the first phase there was an initial conservation of the Aboriginal mode of production through a reinforcement of its relations of domination. This was owing to the nature of capitalist intervention in the region and to the continuing force of the internal dynamics of the Aboriginal mode. The second phase of articulation in the 'contact social formation' was one typified by the subordination of the indigenous mode. This phase was brought about by changes in the social relations of production of the latter, by the subordination of the reproduction of the Aboriginal mode to the logic of the capitalist mode, and by the intervention of the state. Both in the pre-contact mode of production and in the articulation phases described for the period following 1880, I have argued for the significance of groups centred around particular camps and particular persons. The changes of the first articulation phase actually produced a certain continuity of political, economic and cultural patterns through the maintenance of these groups. The subordination phase, on the other hand, was associated with important changes in the Kuku-Yalanji forces of production, in group residence patterns, in the bases for authority and status and in various aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture and ideology.

This last part of the thesis will demonstrate that reality for the Kuku-Yalanji in the late 1970s was a result of the historical processes which I have described above and that a focus on the elements determined in the previous case studies to be critical will yield the best results

in understanding that reality. The object of analysis will be the Bloomfield River Mission, a Lutheran Church-run settlement established in the late 1960s on the site of the old mission at Wujalwujal on the Bloomfield River (see Figure 2). In the present chapter, I describe the role of the state in the total subordination of the Aboriginal mode of production, beginning with the reappearance of the Lutheran missionaries in the late 1950s. This new intervention led to the demise of the remaining permanent Kuku-Yalanji camps at Bloomfield and to the establishment of a new centralized Aboriginal settlement at Wujalwujal. In the second half of the chapter, I examine the composition of this settlement. I look at the social and economic clustering of households, and the bases of group composition. I demonstrate that the household, based usually on a nuclear family was an important economic unit, but that clusters of households - termed, mobs - were the most basic economic units and the significant political units in the mission settlement in the 1970s. I also examine the important role of individuals in mob composition and look at social and other relations within and between mobs. Chapter XI looks at European interventions in SECYP, especially the state-mission complex, and examines Kuku-Yalanji relationships with the latter.

A conclusion of this part of the thesis is that for some Kuku-Yalanji groups a new phase of articulation, one of dissolution, was beginning in the late 1970s. For at least one large Kuku-Yalanji group, however, the mission setting and certain aspects of the nature of its intervention, reinforced, or at least maintained, in a manner similar to that described in earlier case studies, the social relations of production formerly basic to all of Kuku-Yalanji society. This aspect of my argument underscores the independence of the macrodomestic groups in the Aboriginal social formation in Australia and the nature of the processes which kept them that way (or otherwise) in the contact social formation following the appearance of Euorpean capitalism.

X.2 The re-emergence of state intervention.

Apart from occasional visits by the Police sergeant from Cooktown in his role as Protector of Aborigines, the Kuku-Yalanji people living in the Bloomfield camps described in Chapter VIII, largely escaped the

attention of the government from World War One until the late 1950s. This was because of a number of factors. Firstly, there were relatively few Aborigines at Bloomfield during this time. I estimate the Aboriginal population here around 1915 to have been about 200, and by 1958 this figure had been reduced to less than 140 (see IX.4.2.2). Secondly, there was no town and there were few Europeans at Bloomfield during this period. The decline of the tin-mining industry after the First War, then the end of the marine industries before World War Two, left only a small logging firm and sawmill to support the handful of Europeans still in the area. Cooktown had been evacuated during World War Two and not as many Europeans came back as went away. There was not a great deal in SECYP to hold the economic interest of many Europeans. Thirdly, the isolation, poor access and lack of communication facilities prevented much contact by Bloomfield people with the outside world and likewise prevented any scrutiny of the affairs of Aborigines by the latter. Until 1956 the only access to Bloomfield, except by horse or foot, was by boat. Before 1958 there was only a wartime transceiver radio operated by the sawmill, and as of 1977, no electricity or telephone service. This isolation meant that Bloomfield Aborigines were largely left to their own devices, living in the camps, utilising the bush for much of their subsistence and supplementing this with some wage work and some rations. (I might point out, too, that some Europeans living in the area were living similar lifestyles, although in single family houses.)

In the late 1950s a period began which saw the Queensland Government take a much more actively interventionist role in Aboriginal affairs all over the state. After over 50 years of a segregationist and isolationist policy, the government, through its Department of Native Affairs (D.N.A.), began to move more towards a policy of assimilation. They took over a number of formerly church-run settlements in other parts of north Queensland, and began to consolidate Aboriginal reserve lands (i.e. cancel some reserves and reduce the size of others). This was especially the case in areas where there were resources of interest to European capital - for example, the bauxite at Weipa in NWCYP (see Howitt 1979; Anderson 1981). The new state ideology was that Aborigines should now be readied to 'take their place' in Queensland society at large. There was also during this period a degree of interest shown in CYP in general by the media (see Stevens 1969, for example). It was still seen

as a largely untapped frontier and resource developments such as those at Weipa were seen as leading to the opening up of the area. This outside interest in Cape York Peninsula inevitably turned also to Aborigines there.

In the 1950s, public discussion and publicity about the poor state of Aboriginal health and education levels in the Bloomfield area brought a renewal of government interest (see Bell 1951; Whitmore 1952; Rose 1982). Investigations concerning these issues were, to my knowledge, the first government survey of the Bloomfield Aborigines since that of Roth at the turn of the century. Apart from health and education, the government was also concerned that the Bloomfield Aborigines were living in what they termed an unsupervised state, i.e. that there was no one directly responsible for them as a group. This, plus the Bloomfield area's isolation and rugged terrain, made it easy for Aborigines from town areas such as Mossman and Cooktown to evade the police. The government wanted to end the situation whereby the Bloomfield area was used as a refuge by Aborigines (see O'Leary 1956; Hartwig n.d.). Members of the Hope Vale Mission Board visiting Bloomfield in June 1957 at the request of the government, were negative in their impressions of the camps there in this respect. They reported that they:

> Visited the two main native camps . . . where100 natives including children are living. Few natives are employed. The majority are content to live on rations supplied to women and children. Present circumstances make for laziness and it is a sanctuary for loafers and natives wishing to escape the police (Schmidt & Prenzler 1957).

In their own terms, Kuku-Yalanji people had attachments with particular Europeans which were satisfactory for their own purposes. Yet by the mid-1950s, European bosses in the sense described in the previous case studies were becoming rarer due to government discouragement and the more frequent turnover of European residents. The government had never been happy about situations in which Aborigines had independent relations with settlers, and in the 1950s, it felt similarly about the Bloomfield Aborigines living unsupervised in separate independent camps. The Department of Native Affairs thus entered into the case. Its solution was one which had been used by it

in Queensland since before the turn of the century: mass Aboriginal removal.

It is clear that in the early 1950s D.N.A. planned to remove to Cooktown all Aborigines then at Bloomfield. A 1958 Department of Education report states:

> In 1954 the District Inspector of Schools stated: "The Head Teacher [at the Bloomfield River State School] has been told by the Protector of Aborigines at Cooktown, that the natives living at Bloomfield River are to be transferred shortly to buildings now being erected at Cooktown. [1]

In 1956, O'Leary, the Director of D.N.A., sent a departmental official to Bloomfield "for preliminary investigations on the whole position . . regarding the coloured residents of Bloomfield River . . preparatory to the submission of a report to the Government for the future control of these people either there or elsewhere" (O'Leary 1956). The inquiry need hardly have been undertaken from the government's perspective. As O'Leary commented in the same letter: "It is very probable that the result of the investigations will be the removal of quite a number of people from the area . . ." (ibid.).

However, the removal plan met with certain problems. European residents of Cooktown objected to the setting up of a large Aboriginal fringe community near their town. Other existing reserve settlements (e.g. Hope Vale and Yarrabah) were also reluctant to receive the entire Aboriginal population of Bloomfield. In 1958, O'Leary wrote again to the Director-General of Education advising him of the D.N.A.'s difficulties in arranging the accommodation of the Bloomfield Aborigines elsewhere and that "Although special action may be taken in isolated cases, it is not likely that the majority of these people will now leave this area in the foreseeable future" (O'Leary 1958).

However, failure to remove the Bloomfield people in this instance did not mean leaving them unsupervised. In view what they saw as the Lutheran Church's generally successful management of the Hope Vale mission, north of Cooktown, the D.N.A. approached the church's mission

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1. Buildings and Sites Report on Provision of a State School Building, Bloomfield River, Department of Education #13899 6/3/58 B.R.S.S.A.

board to see if it would take responsibility for Bloomfield. O'Leary noted that: "Recently discussions were commenced with Pastor Schmidt of the Committee controlling Hope Vale Mission with a view to early action for the mission to take over or at least exercise some supervision of the Bloomfield River natives" (O'Leary 1956). In 1958, O'Leary stated that "The natives [of Bloomfield] have been placed under the general supervision of the Hope Vale Mission of Cooktown and a member of the Mission staff is now residing at Bloomfield" (O'Leary 1958). An agreement was undertaken that the Mission Board would provide the staff for Bloomfield, while the Department would provide a vehicle, communication and funds for staff accommodation (Hartwig n.d.). Pastor Wenke, a mission staff member at Hope Vale, had been sent to Bloomfield to investigate the situation. A summary of his report appears in the minutes of a church meeting:

> Natives scattered in three different camps. This is a problem. Should they be brought together? If so will this result in fights and further trouble? Main camp over Bloomfield River. Boat will be necessary. Sanitation poor. Homes are poor but clean. Natives well dressed and fed. Majority of natives would co-operate but some would present a problem. Children have no religious training. 30 odd children attending school. Employment opportunities are few: possibility in mining. Soil appears good but limited in area.[2]

It was clear also that the government was more than suggesting the direction that the mission should take in its policy towards Bloomfield. Nor had they given up the notion of ultimate removal. Pastor Schmidt reported on his interview with D.N.A.:

> D.N.A. has taken for granted that Bloomfield should become our responsibility. They suggest that Bloomfield be regarded as an outpost of Hope Vale. Through peaceful penetration, the natives should eventually be transferred to HopeVale.

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2. Minutes of combined meeting of Hope Vale Mission Board and Lutheran Church Council 27/4/57 Box 7 (312-513) File, Corres. 1953-7 U.E.L.C.A.

> Conditions at Bloomfield are not good for mission purposes and will grow worse with the opening of the new road from Cairns to Cooktown.[3]

The meeting passed a motion that "Bloomfield be regarded as an annex to Hope Vale" and that Mr. C.A. Hartwig, a carpenter at Hope Vale from 1949-1953, be appointed superintendent of the new mission. An initial grant of £2,500 was given by the government towards the establishment of the mission.[4]

X.3 'Hartwig-time'.

In December 1957, Mr. C.A. Hartwig, his wife Olive (a former school teacher at Hope Vale) and their two small daughters arrived at Bloomfield to begin the second era of Lutheran mission activity there. Kuku-Yalanji people at Bloomfield in the late 1970s referred to this era - which lasted 12 years - as 'Hartwig-time'. The Hartwigs occupied a house at the sawmill and began visiting the camps, administering some health care and conducting church services alternately at each camp. In 1958 the church and government decided to centralize the mission work and an 11 acre site - now known as Middle Camp - on the north side of the river two kilometres from Ayton was obtained from the sawmill and a mission house built here. By far the majority of Aborigines were resident on the opposite side of the river and it seems that the original intention was that the Hartwigs were merely to use Middle Camp as a base until it was felt that the Bloomfield people were ready to be moved out of the area altogether (see Hartwig n.d.).

The government used continuing health and parasite problems of Aborigines at Bloomfield as justification for removal. Talk of removal continued until at least 1963 (see Hartwig 1960), but the difficulties in arranging alternative residence and the opposition of the Lutheran Church Mission Board and Hartwig prevented any large-scale removal of

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3. See previous footnote.

4. Minutes of Hope Vale Mission Board meeting 6/6/57 Box 7 (312-513) File and Corres. 1953-7 U.E.L.C.A.

Kuku-Yalanji from Bloomfield during this period.[5]

In the mid-1960s, the government deemed that the church should begin to centralize the Aborigines into one settlement and Christianize and train them. The assumption was that when the Bloomfield Aborigines were ready for the 'outside world', the mission would be dissolved. At a Hope Vale Mission Board meeting in February 1964, it was resolved that the policy on Bloomfield was to be

> . . . that the Mission continue its work at Bloomfield with a view to becoming terminal in approximately 25 years time; [and] that in order to further the development of the natives and to offer immediate and appropriate employment, the old Mission Reserve (260 acres) be developed for the growing of fruit and vegetables and raising cattle.[6]

The mission in the early days was thus not a place or community, but rather it consisted of the activities of Hartwig and his wife. With the completion of the Mission House in June 1959, Catechism and Bible Study classes began to be held at the house. Those attending were unmarried adults and young people, and 44 of them were baptised in a mass ceremony in 1961. With the renewed application of a centralization policy in the mid-1960s, it was decided that the best way of achieving this, along with the cutting of the ties with Aboriginal traditions and the assimilation to European ways, was by separating the younger generation from the older one. Thus the dormitory system began anew. It was to be the defining feature of the Bloomfield Mission until 1970.

The Hartwigs saw the primary functions of the dormitory system as being training and the protection of young women from sexual liaison. They also saw the dormitory as fulfilling a feeding role for younger girls who stayed there. From 1963, on the dormitory contained between 16 and 20 girls. To fund the dormitory the church received a destitute ration for each of the girls per month until 1963 when it was declared

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5. Report on Board visitation 2-10 July 1963 Box 13 (312-516) Corresp. 1961-64. U.E.L.C.A. archives; see also Hartwig (1963a).

6. Minutes of Hope Vale Mission Board meeting 4/2/64. Box 13 (312-516) Corresp. 1961-64. U.E.L.C.A. Archives. This reserve, 'Top Camp', was not actually re-gazetted until 1967 (Q.G.G. 1967.2.1030).

an institution for child endowment purposes. The mission then received the child endowment due the mother of the girls who were in the dormitory (10/- per week per child). The girls received 1/2 lb of fresh meat per head per week. The giving of this food was used as a means of controlling the girls in the dormitory. One woman who had been in the dormitory as a schoolgirl told me that if you missed church or otherwise misbehaved, you received no rations.[7]

The church also wanted to put young Kuku-Yalanji men into a dormitory. This was part of the separation and training scheme. But it was also the case that the mission needed labour for their building programme, especially after the decision had been made to move everyone up to Top Camp. Hartwig wrote to the Board in 1963 stressing the "urgency of getting the boys into a dormitory where they can receive regular and constant supervision and training" (Hartwig 1963b). A large 4-room house was erected near the Mission House at Middle Camp, but before it could be used as a boys dormitory, the Top Camp building programme was begun. The first house built there was the dormitory. The young single men stayed there while working on the new mission houses and went home on weekends.

An important element in Kuku-Yalanji people referring to this era as 'Hartwig-time', is that for most of them then, Hartwig was their key European. Hartwig himself and his personal characteristics actually define the era for Kuku-Yalanji. He was a source of some employment and money (the working men were paid 12/- per day in 1964). He and his wife were a source of medical aid, including emergency trips to Cooktown in their Land Rover; Hartwig acted as a buffer between Kuku-Yalanji and the larger European society (and with particular representatives of it such as the police). In other words, Hartwig was a boss in the classic Kuku Yalanji sense. And to have a boss in these terms was not merely to gain benefits from the relationship.

As I pointed out in Chapter VI, Kuku-Yalanji did not see having a boss as an asymmetrical relationship; they did not merely exploit the relationship to get out of it whatever they could. Certainly having a

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7. The food-as-control device is also mentioned in a letter from Hartwig to the Secretary of the Mission Board, 24/4/63 in Box 13 U.E.L.C.A. archives.

boss was considered a good and necessary thing, but it also meant fulfilling generally one's side of the relationship. At Bloomfield in the 1960s this meant acceptance (or at least not active refusal) of missionary requests; it meant allowing their daughters - and later, for a short time anyway, their sons - to be kept in the dormitory; it meant trying to abide occasionally by missionary standards of domestic tidiness and hygiene; it also meant tolerating church services and Bible classes (although as I stated in Chapter IX, there was a real sense in which the Christian message was assimilated into the Kuku-Yalanji belief system). In the case of the dormitories, because of the relationship between most Kuku-Yalanji and the Hartwigs, it would have been almost impossible for the former to deny the missionaries permission to take their children. In fact, the Hartwigs themselves maintain that only one woman objected to having her daughter in the dormitory and this because the woman wanted the girl at home working there so that she could go off with her 'sweetheart' and also so that she could herself obtain the child endowment money to use for gambling (which otherwise would have gone to the mission). Some Kuku-Yalanji have mentioned to me that they saw the Hartwigs as 'minding' the young people. Because of this perceived function, several times parents actively sought to have their daughters put into the dormitory.

The first Bloomfield mission in general and the dormitory in particular as described in Chapter VII, performed similar functions to those of the mission and dormitory in the 1960s. The difference in the latter period was that Kuku-Yalanji had little choice. There simply were no other bosses in the area (i.e. Europeans willing to enter into a permanent residential and social relationship), nor would the government have countenanced it in any case. Also, with the increased contact with the wider world, there was a growing awareness on the part of Kuku-Yalanji - who had been quite secure in their situation for many years after the first Europeans arrived - that their status position was a very low one in the general Australian society. The acceptance - if reluctant - of certain missionary policies and actions was thus partly an attempt to reinstigate the old boss relationship, partly due to lack of suitable alternative, but also partly due to Kuku-Yalanji attempts to gain access to some degree of status and the goods and power which this brought. On the other side, the relatively successful missionization of Kuku-Yalanji during this period compared to the earlier mission

attempts, was, I would argue, a function of the subordination of the Kuku-Yalanji political economy, the increased direct role of the state and the existence, with Hartwig, of a reasonably good boss relationship.

As with the tin-miners and other European bosses in SECYP, Kuku-Yalanji involvement in the boss relationship had its unintended consequences. The first was having to put up with the Hartwigs' attempts not only to inculcate the young into the ways of Europeans (Christian values, domestic practices, child-raising, work ethic, etc.), and also their active denigration of Kuku-Yalanji values and cultural beliefs. The denigration occurred primarily in so far as it came into conflict with Christian beliefs (and, after all, that was ostensibly why the Lutherans were there in the first place). The Hartwigs were not necessarily against all aspects of Aboriginal culture per se. It seems that they did not consciously interfere with marriage matters[8] (although they wanted couples to have a legal and 'proper' marriage ceremony and as a Justice of the Peace, Hartwig could officiate). Nor did they interfere overly with kinship matters within and between groups. Hartwig also had a great admiration for the sort of discipline which 'traditional' life engendered and for the authority of the older men. This latter was one of the factors which the Hartwigs viewed as having significantly declined in the contact period with the consequence that the "younger folk [have] just become a law unto themselves" (Hartwig n.d.). It appears that Hartwig saw himself as stepping into the apparent vacuum of this authority in order to bring not only Christianity, but 'order' again into Kuku-Yalanji lives. He saw himself in the mould of Pastor Schwarz at Cape Bedford and Hope Vale: an autocratic figure who had great power over (and who obtained respect from) his Aboriginal subjects (see Haviland & Haviland 1980; Rose 1978). Hartwig maintained that missionaries had to be 'leaders': "You don't go and crack a stockwhip over them, you just lead them and show them by example." And again: "You can't be brutal, but you must be firm."[9]

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8. This did not apply to sexual matters though. Reports are that the Hartwigs came down heavily on girls having 'illicit' relations with boys. In 1961 the first girl to have an 'illegitimate' baby was reportedly locked under the Mission House for some time.

9. Statements made in interview with J.C.A. 22/11/82.

The other consequence of Hartwig as a boss was one which arose for Kuku-Yalanji because Hartwig himself had bosses - although this latter is the European sense of the word, not the Kuku-Yalanji. In other words, the status of his position and the power, like that of Hislop and other European bosses in SECYP, was restricted to the local, more micro-sphere. Kuku-Yalanji people did not often realize this, especially in the early stages of this relationship. They assumed that status in one sphere was automatically recognized and valid in another, and that one of their bosses would be able to accomplish almost anything in the European domain. (This was equivalent to the earlier police assumption in SECYP that Aboriginal 'Kings' had power over any number of domains).[10] While Hartwig was not wholly in favour of the centralization of Kuku-Yalanji people into one settlement, the government insisted that it should occur.

Centralization was the government's only alternative to outright mass removal, and it was suggested as a plan as early as 1956. There was some attempt to bring a few families into Middle Camp once several houses had been built, but the move to Top Camp pre-empted this. Once the land of the old mission site had been re-gazetted as an Aboriginal reserve in 1967, a clearing programme was begun and houses were erected. These houses were 4m x 3m in area with concrete slab floors, aluminium walls and roofs and louvre windows (see Plate XIV). All the labour was provided by Bloomfield men, aided by Hope Vale Aboriginal carpenters, and all under a Lutheran European supervisor.[11]

Encouragement to come into the settlement was apparently needed because of the acute reluctance of the Bloomfield people to leave their own camps and to come into one central settlement with the other groups. European observers of the time (e.g. Oscar Olufson and the Hershbergers), as well as Kuku-Yalanji themselves, confirm their lack of any desire to come into the fledgling mission. Most older people only came in in order to be close to young married children who had been brought into the new mission houses. One family only moved from

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10. In most cases Kuku-Yalanji, up until the 1980s, were not even aware of the extent of 'European society' (or even of such a notion) outside of SECYP. Thus for them the division between micro and macro levels of the intervention complexes was not meaningful.

11. The Hartwigs by this stage had several assistant mission workers.

Plate XIV Bloomfield River Mission, 1972. (Photograph courtesy of H. Hershberger)

Plate XV Bloomfield River Mission, 1982.

Jajikal when the mother died, and all Banabila residents only came up after the death of Oscar Olbar, a focal person in the camp. Another family resisted the move until the very end - leaving Dikarr, but only coming up as far as Middle Camp. Dikarr camp residents in general were the last to come up. The pressure here was that the mission said that it would not come across the river to get the children for school and the children had to go to school or else there would be police action with possible removal (something never far from Kuku-Yalanji minds). Other factors made the mission attractive. Fresh water was hard to get at both Dikarr and Jajikal, and people sometimes used to fight over it at the latter camp. Instant medical aid was also available at the mission. (The move there brought a clinic in the early 1970s and a resident nursing sister). Being closer to rations and employment was also an encouragement to come in. Once families left the camps, the mission tore down their houses so that they would not return.[12]

By 1970, permanent residence in either Middle Camp or the Top Mission of all Kuku-Yalanji at Bloomfield had been achieved. New houses for married couples, attraction to steady goods and services, and threats about the children and removal all aided in the centralization. There were also the important structural forces of government policies and European economic and demographic trends in SECYP. In addition, having entered into the boss relationship with Hartwig, Kuku-Yalanji were more or less bound, in the end, to succumb to the centralization programme. Requests from bosses had eventually to be acceded to, otherwise one had no boss. (As in the early days of European settlement in SECYP, having no boss usually meant having to leave one's country and, probably, the extinction of one's group.) Thus one of the unintended consequences of Kuku-Yalanji social incorporation of Hartwig as a boss was the demise of their camps and their coming together in one central settlement. In the earlier days in SECYP, Aborigines maintained their camps because of their boss relationships. In the late 1960s,

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12. Hartwig maintains that this was partly because the camp resident were "only squatting on private land". This ignored the facts that the Europeans either did not live on the land or had given permission or that the land could have been purchased had the Church so desired. In Hartwig's view, the real reason seems to be that the camps were contrary to government policy.

they had to shift to Top Camp and centralize partly because of this same principle.

Thus 'Hartwig-time' culminated in the reappearance of the Bloomfield River Mission, this time as the focal point for the most comprehensive and everpresent intervention complex to operate in SECYP. It saw the fruition of renewed attempts on the part of the state to centralize the Kuku-Yalanji at Bloomfield, and to secure the complete subordination of the Aboriginal mode. It was also, at the same time, the result of Kuku-Yalanji attempts to apply the processes of the previous articulation phases - the use of European individuals as bosses, as buffers, protectors and mediators.

Hartwig's resignation was requested by the Mission Board in 1970. This came about because of conflict over the administration of the mission and particularly over the issue of the dormitory system. The government had been under pressure to proscribe this institution on Queensland Aboriginal settlements, and while both government and Board had previously praised the system, they insisted on its termination virtually overnight. The Bloomfield Mission at that stage was almost wholly based on its dormitories, and Hartwig staunchly defended the system as the best one for achieving assimilation. He and his wife finally left under protest, and a succession of managers took their place throughout the early and mid-1970s. The issue of the dormitory policy demonstrates that settlements such as Bloomfield were subject to external forces and debates, in what appeared from a local perspective, to be an almost arbitrary fashion.

X.4 Bloomfield River Mission in the late 1970s.

The remaining sections of this chapter and the next focus on the Bloomfield River Mission as it was during the major part of my fieldwork from 1977 to 1980. I begin with an overview of the major features of the mission settlement and of social and economic life there.

The road from Ayton winds seven kilometres upstream along the Bloomfield River until it passes through the entrance gates of the Bloomfield Aboriginal settlement. Here, on a 103 ha reserve nestled in a valley at the foot of the Bloomfield Falls, is the Bloomfield River Mission. The settlement consisted in the late 1970s of a dense collection of houses and buildings on approximately a quarter of the

reserve land (see Plate XV and Figure 26).[13] In 1977 there were 22 Aboriginal houses in the Top Mission settlement.[14] These were two- or three-room houses with concrete floors and aluminium sheet roofs and walls. Most had semi-detached kitchens of 'fibro' with a small wood stove. Most of the houses had about 500 square metres of land around them and were sited in suburban style in four rows with five or six houses side by side per row. Water was pumped from upriver to a large tank on the hill overlooking the mission. Each house had one cold-water tap and an open drain just outside the door. Each house had its own pit-type outdoor toilet, but no washing or bathing facilities. Until 1978, power was generated by a large diesel generator, which was turned on for several hours at sunset. Outside each house was a large area of bare, hard-packed earth which formed part of the living-space. During winter there was often a fire here day and night, and it was a great focus for domestic work and visiting.

The dirt roads running past the rows of Aboriginal houses formed part of a larger road leading down to a site overlooking the Bloomfield River. Here lay the administrative centre of the mission and the European staff houses. Mission administration facilities here included the garage which serviced mission vehicles, a storage shed, the clinic (including the nurse's flat), the mission office and store (combined in the back of a house until 1979) and a kindergarten.[15] Two standard suburban five-room houses with built-in kitchens, bathrooms, toilets and laundries comprised the European staff accomodation.

The mission was administered by the Lutheran Church under the Queensland Aborigines Act 1971-1979. The Church, through its Brisbane-based Mission Board, appointed a European Manager who supervised all aspects of the mission's day-to-day affairs. An elected Aboriginal Council made up of four people and a Chairperson also made some

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13. There was also a small settlement of five to six houses associated with the mission at Middle Camp, several kilometres north of Ayton. This is where Hartwig's Mission House was.

14. In 1978-1979 a new housing programme was begun with Federal and State government funds.

15. The mission children attended the Bloomfield River State Primary School near Middle Camp. This was administered independently of the mission by the State Department of Education.

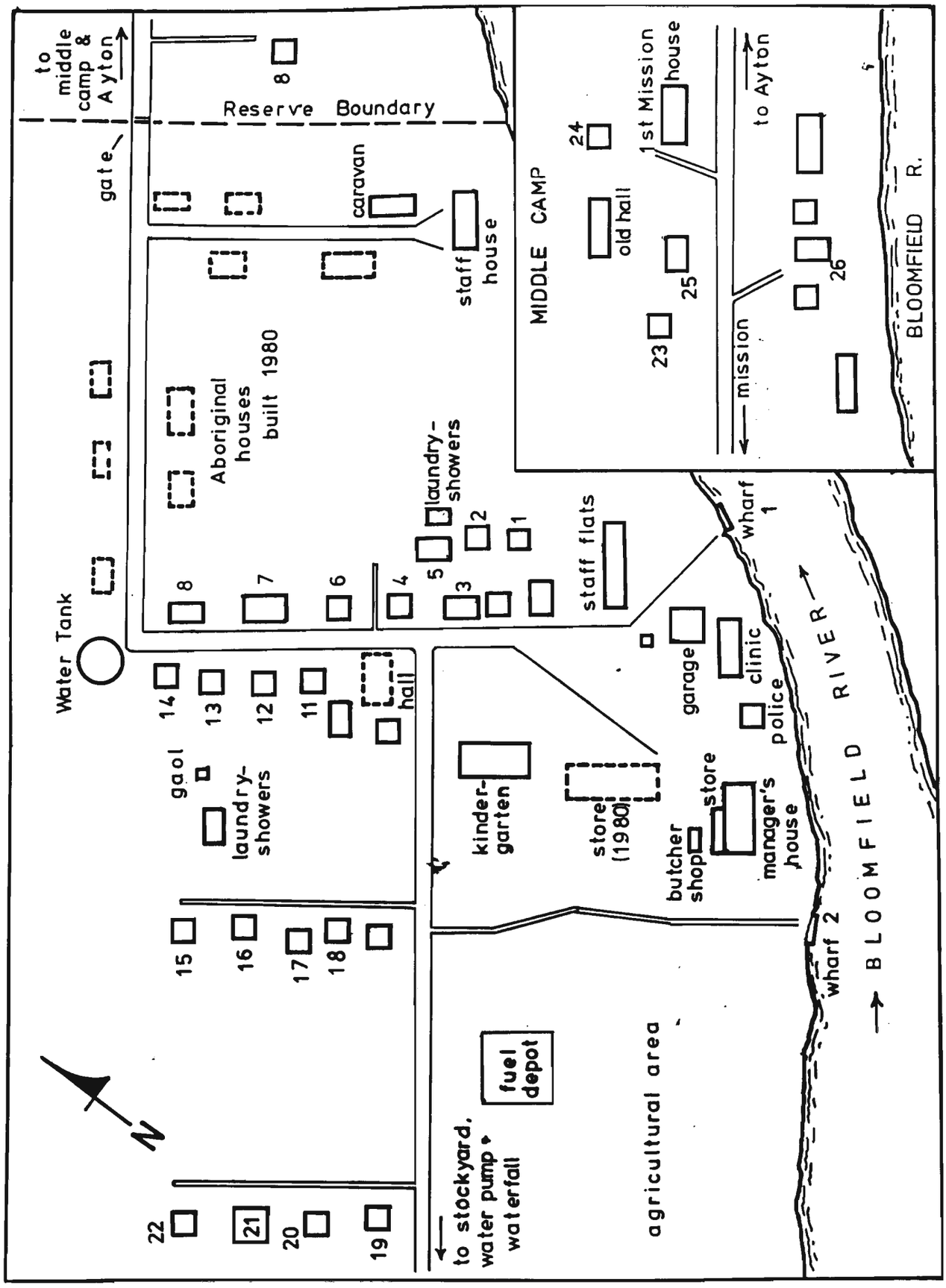

Figure 26 Bloomfield River Mission, 1978-1980.

decisions concerning the community. Apart from the Manager, there were a number of other Europeans on the mission staff. They ran the store, the garage, the clinic, and the mission office (which included the bank, the post office and the two-way radio.

The economy of the mission had both cash and traditional bush components. The cash sphere was wholly artificial. Some 25 Aboriginal men and women were employed in community maintenance, construction and service jobs. Funds for wages came from various state and federal schemes. Transfer payments in the form of unemployment benefits, old-age and other pension and family allowance were another major source of cash in the mission. Cash was needed by mission residents for purchasing food and consumer goods in the store, house rent and to purchase and maintain dinghies and outboard motors, the major form of transport at Bloomfield. In the traditional sector of the mission economy, Kuku-Yalanji went out into the surrounding areas, especially along the river and the beaches of Weary Bay, to exploit the rich supply of bush resources still available in this area. Items which formed an important part of Kuku-Yalanji diet at the mission included wild pig, fish and shellfish.

Life in the mission settlement was an ordered existence. A typical week-day started with the smoke and smells of the wood-fire stoves at sun-up. Dozens of kettles and billies were put on for tea and people rolled up their mattresses and gathered around the fires warming themselves. At 7:30, a bell reverberated around the settlement warning of the impending work-start and encouraging workers to make their way down to the administrative area of the settlement for morning assembly. At 8:00, the bell rang again and the mission staff, Aboriginal and European, gathered in a large semi-circle in the dirt yard between the garage and the Manager's house. The Manager would usually read a daily devotional, make a few remarks on current community events and outline the work for the day. The workers then broke up into their respective teams and with the sound of tractors starting, work began. While assembly was taking place Kuku-Yalanji women back at the houses started to clean up after breakfast. They put away the food, washed up and hung out their families' blankets to air on the fences around the houses. The schoolchildren would already have left for school loaded into the back of the mission dump truck. By 9 AM or so, the young single men stirred out of their beds in the far corners of the houses and called to

their sisters or other female relatives to make another pot of tea. At 10, another bell rang and the workers returned home for a half-hour 'smoko'. After work started again, the women strolled down to the store, a small room at the back of the manager's house. They sat chatting in small groups under the mango trees outside, waiting for their turn (and enough room) to get into the store. Then it was back home where clothes were washed in big copper boilers. Old people either visited relatives and agemates or else slept during the day. At 12:30, the lunch bell rang and a lunch of damper, tea and salt beef (if a bullock had recently been killed by the mission stockmen) or tinned meat, and sometimes potatoes and onions was prepared by the older girls in the household at the direction of the mother or 'aunty'. At 1:30, work began again until the smoko bell at 3 PM, then there was another work stint until 5 when the 'knock-off' bell rang.

At home the men sometimes do some work on a shed extension to their house or else fiddle with an outboard motor. Wood also had to be chopped for the evening fire. A dozen different tape cassette recorders usually blared out from all directions: some playing 1950s country and western music, others playing hymns in Kuku-Yalanji, yet others traditional Aboriginal music from other communities. If the young men had gone out on a bush trip during the day or the night before, there may have been fresh pig, cassowary or sea turtle meat for dinner. Or perhaps the women had gone out on the boats and brought in shellfish or some big bream. After dinner, people sat on flour drums and logs around the fire outside their houses or else went visiting relations. Some went off into the scrub to the semi-clandestine[16] 'gambling school' where a big card game was usually underway. By 9PM or so, with the fires dying down, people began to roll out their beds. If it was winter and there was plenty of wood, some of the young men slept outside around the fire. On some nights just as people were beginning to settle in, shouts coming up the road signalled the arrival of young men who had been drinking and who had come home either to fight or to wake up relations for food and tea. Sometimes, too, domestic disputes erupted in the night and people carefully monitored the intensity, frequency and type of sounds in the night to determine the identity of protagonists and the issuses, and to see if they were needed to go out to support a

16. Gambling was illegal on the reserve.

relation. In some cases the 'buliman' (Aboriginal policemen employed by the mission) was called out in an attempt to sort things out. Occasionally one or more protagonists were put into the settlement gaol.

On the weekends, the mission was largely deserted as family groups rolled their swags, packed the dinghies and headed out to their various bush camps up Thompson Creek, at Plantation Beach, up at Twelve-Mile Scrub or elsewhere. At the camps, a variety of activities were undertaken. People refurbished the semi-permanent shelters; materials were collected for manufacture of bush implements such as spears; time was also spent hunting, fishing or gathering depending on the locale and the season. Bush produce was usually consumed immediately, and any surplus was taken back to the mission after the trip. During December the mission would only maintain a skeleton staff as most Aboriginal people moved out into these camps for the six to eight week holiday period.

This was Kuku-Yalanji life in the Bloomfield River Mission in the late 1970s. Most major decisions made concerning the settlement and the way it was run were made either by the local European staff or by Europeans elsewhere. Apart from this administrative link, the mission and its Aboriginal residents were physically and socially isolated from the broader Australian society. Kuku-Yalanji people rarely travelled even the 50 km into Cooktown, and they had little to do with other Europeans in the Bloomfield area itself. Life was marked by the dichotomy between, on the one hand, the bell-ordered routine of work life and the close, tense living in the mission and, on the other, the relaxed yet productive existence in the bush camps. Apart from production based on bush resources, the economy of the mission was a wholly artificial one. Also, as I shall show below, residents of the mission rarely saw the mission as a unified social entity and there was little identification of people at the community level. The ideology of the administrators was one of the creation of a normal European-style community. Yet the reality for most Kuku-Yalanji was an institutionalized settlement in which their lives were dominated not only by Europeans, but also by another, particular group of Kuku-Yalanji. To understand this latter point we must first examine fully the social composition of the mission.

X.5 Composition of the mission.

As noted in the last chapter, the Aboriginal population in the Bloomfield River area was 136 in 1957 when the Lutheran missionaries arrived. This figure, according to Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement (D.A.I.A., formerly D.N.A.) Annual Reports, largely remained unchanged until 1965. Over the next fifteen or so years it almost doubled. In 1980, the population of the Bloomfield River Mission, including semi-permanent visitors and residents of some of the out-lying camps, was 263.[17] The age and sex distribution of this population is shown in Table 19. Between 1957 and 1980, the overall

TABLE 19

Age and sex distribution of the Bloomfield River Aboriginal population, 1980

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-14	43	30.9	41	33.1	84	31.9
15-59	88	63.3	73	58.9	161	61.3
60+	8	5.8	10	8.0	18	6.8
Total	139	100.0	124	100.0	263	100.0

annual rate of growth of the population was 2.9 per cent. While lack of detailed data on recent migration and the small size of the population prevent accurate estimation of the natural rate of increase, crude birth and death rates for 1979 (31 per 1000 and 18 per 1000 respectively) suggest that, compared to the Australian total figures for that year[18], it is high. The distribution figures also reveal a comparatively large number of children below the age of 15 and a relatively low proportion of people over sixty years of age. The mission population is thus growing larger at a rapid rate and it is getting younger.

In 1978, 21 patriclans were represented at the mission. Of these, 16 were Kuku-Yalanji clans and five were 'outsider' or non-Kuku-Yalanji ones. The clans and their composition by age and sex are shown in Table 20.

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17. Anderson field survey, June, 1980.

18. A birth rate of 15.5 per 1000 and a death rate of 7.4 per 1000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics Yearbook Australia 1981).

TABLE 20

Patriclan membership at Bloomfield River Mission, 1978*

Patriclan	Men	Women	Children (0-14yrs)	Total
Kunawarra	5	2	33	40
Wujalwujalwarra	9	8	9	26
Muwarra	5	4	13	22
Mulujinwarra	4	3	11	18
McIvor River/Green Hill	4	0	14	18
Buruwarra/Upper Daintree	7	6	4	17
Balabaywarra (Banabilawarra†*)*	5	4	7	16
Nyambilnyambilwarra	4	2	8	14
Bulbanwarra	5	1	6	12
Mijinanwarra (Warrkinwarra†*)*	1	0	7	8
Battle Creek/Middle Normanby	3	0	4	7
Laura	3	0	4	7
Princess Charlotte Bay	4	0	3	7
Coen/Lockhart River	3	0	3	6
Ngulungkabanwarra	1	2	2	5
Hope Vale	5	0	0	5
Kangkajiwarra	1	3	0	4
Mossman	4	0	0	4
Dandiwarra	2	1	0	3
Mt. Amos	0	3	0	3
Mt. Carbine/Mareeba	1	2	0	3
Totals	76	41	128	245

* only includes permanent residents

† current name

Twelve clans had less than ten people, and nine clans contained about 20. The average clan size was 11.7 persons. Kunawarra (Shipton's Flat) and Wujalwujalwarra (the mission site) were the largest clans. Data on patriclans are important because clan affiliation was one of the principles which Kuku-Yalanji used as a basis for group composition. Yet as I shall demonstrate, clans were never residential groups and they rarely acted co-operatively.

Another way of looking at the composition of the mission is to examine household groups. I define the household as a group of persons who ate together on a regular and permanent basis and who contributed goods and other resources to the household on this basis. Thus all members of a given household may or may not have been co-resident. Single adult males, for example, did not normally sleep in a focal household, but ate there and contributed to it. The household was thus an economic unit. It was ultimately responsible for its own economic sufficiency. It had to have enough income from various sources to provide store-bought goods and to pay bills such as house rent. The household also had to have adequate access to bush resources and have sufficient and willing labour to exploit them. While able to obtain money, goods and food from members of related households, the viability of a household in the long run was threatened if there were insufficient means to produce these things independently of other households in the same mob.

Locations of the focal houses for households are shown in Figure 26. There were 31 households at Bloomfield River Mission and Middle Camp in early 1978. Locations of some of the houses changed in 1979-1980, but household compositions remained similar. Data on the composition of the 27 households for which I have comprehensive information are shown in Table 21. The households had an average membership of 7.2 persons. Of these households, 21 were based on a nuclear family consisting of a man, a woman and their young or older children. Four households included only women and their children, or women on their own with other relatives. Dwellings comprising extended family units included nine households with a nuclear family plus children's spouses and children's children. Eleven households had a man's or his wife's siblings or cross-cousins, and five households had one person's parent or parents. There were in addition ten to twelve floating males (cf. Sutton 1978:80-81) who went from household to

TABLE 21

Household composition at Bloomfield River Mission, 1978

Household	Total number in household	Composition
1	5	♂, W/3ch[a]
2	8	♂, W/4ch, MZ+, MZ+S
3	4	♂, W, WMBS, WMBSW
4	9	♂, W/3ch, D, DD, WMZ-, WMZ-S
5	9	♂, W/5ch, WFZS, WFZS
6	5	♂, W/1ch, F, M
7	11	♂, W/7ch, DH, DS
8(a)	6	♀/5ch
8(b)	8	♂, W/2ch, WB, WBW, WZ, WZH
9	8	♂, W/5ch, DD
10	2	♀/1ch
11	12	♂, W/3ch, BS, DH, D/4ch
12	8	♂, W/5ch, M
13	8	♂, W/4ch, WF, WZ-
14	10	♂, W/5ch, D/1ch, WB-
15	7	♂, W/4ch, WFBS
16	8	♂, W/5ch, DD, MBS
17	4	♀, ♀ and her SS and SSW
18	5	♀, FZDD, FZDDS, FZDS, MBS
19	10	♂, W/3ch, B, BW/3ch
20	6	♂, S, 'S', Z, ZD, ZDH
21	9	♂, 3ch, D/1ch, D/1ch, DH
22	10	♂, W/7ch, FZS
23	8	♂, W/6ch
24	6	♂, W/2ch, D/1ch
25	4	♂, W, D, DH
26	4	♂, W, 2'ch'

[a] This means a man, his wife and her three children. Other terms, e.g. MZ+ (mother's older sister), WMZ- (wife's mother's younger sister) are reckoned, unless noted, through the initial male.
Note: ch = son or daughter of any age. Quotation marks mean classificatory or adoptive kin.

household staying at one for several weeks at a time. Often such men, especially the young ones, had no money or formal work and were semi-permanent travellers, moving between Mossman, Bloomfield and Cooktown. With respect to the figures listed in Table 21, it is important to note that although there was a core group which remained much the same over time, the overall composition changed somewhat as individuals came and went and as some families moved out into the bush for periods of time.

While households were discrete units, they were not independent entities by any means. Households in the mission formed clusters which were called 'mobs'. In order to determine the nature of Kuku-Yalanji mobs we need to look at the types of actual relations which different households had with each other. There were two main areas where patterns of composition could be seen: economic and social.

X.5.1 Mobs and the mission economy.

As I have stated, the household was an important economic unit in the mission economy. Yet households were not wholly autonomous and were tied into a cluster of linked households. These were macrodomestic units which I shall term 'mobs'. One of the areas in which the delineation of the mission into these mobs can be seen most clearly was in the use by Kuku-Yalanji of the bush. As I mentioned in X.4, a major aspect of the mission economy was that of bush trips, forays into the surrounding areas for bush resources and for camping. These trips varied in length and composition depending on aims. For certain periods of 1977 and 1978, I went on every bush trip organized by the Kuku-Yalanji group with whom I was living. This resulted in a total of 41 trips covering 48 days during the period 9 July to 6 November 1977, and a total of 35 trips covering 50 days during the period 29 April to 25 July 1978. Detailed information recorded for each of these trips included composition of participating groups, subsistence activities undertaken, environments exploited and results obtained. A summary of these data appears in Anderson (1982).

The most relevant aspect here is the composition of the trips with respect to households. An examination of household representation on bush trips reveals the existence of distinct clusters of households. Because of the deliberately non-random nature of my bush trip data recording (through my association with primarily one group in the

settlement), it is not possible to make many negative statements concerning household co-operation. In other words, my data do not allow me to say that particular households which were outside my group did not co-operate with each other. I can only really comment on whether they did or did not undertake bush trips with members of housholds in my group. Yet when the data on representation by household of bush trips are analysed, at least part of the mission's linked household pattern emerges. With this group of households it is reasonable to assume I have a good sample, if not most of the bush trips undertaken by its members during the periods of the survey. Thus it is proper to assume that their interaction rates with households not in this group for most types of bush trips were minimal or nil. I later present some general observational data on economic co-operation with respect to bush resources for some of the other mobs.

The data for household representation on bush trips are shown in Table 22. This shows the cross-tabulations of households involved in the same bush trips. The pattern of co-operation for the households most involved in my 76 bush trips is one of a high frequency of interaction between households 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, 19 and 20. There are also two distinct clusters within this group comprising households 2, 4 and 14 and households 1, 3, 13, 19 and 20.

Members of the mobs not only undertook bush trips together, they also shared equipment needed for the trips (boats, motors, rifles, hunting dogs, knives, spears, dilly bags, buckets, yam sticks and the like). Mobs also shared the results of the bush trips. This sharing usually extended beyond the limits of the households represented on a particular trip and included all households in the larger group. This was especially so when large bush items such as pigs or marine turtle were brought back to the mission. Several examples will demonstrate this and show something of other mobs' involvement in bush trips.

In one case in September 1978, three large (1.2m long) turtles had been harpooned the night before at Kangkiji reef and were tethered to a boat at a site upstream from the mission. The household whose sons had obtained the turtles had set up a focal camp here for the purposes of butchering and eating the turtles. In this camp were four adults, three young men, three young women, two boys and a baby, all from households 8a and 8b. The day when the turtles were butchered, another ten adults and eight children arrived from the mission. These people were from

TABLE 22

Summary of household co-operation on bush trips

Households	Frequency of co-operation
14 and 4	26
14 and 2	19
4 and 2	19
2 and 3	13
14 alone	11
3 and 4	9
1 and 4	6
2 and 19	6
3 and 19	6
2 and 13	6
4 and 13	6
3 and 1	5
3 and 19	5
14 and 19	5
13 and 3	5
15 and 3	5
4 and 19	5
2 and 15	5
1 and 2	4
2 and 2	4
1 and 14	4
8 and 14	4
2 and 20	4
3 and 20	4
4 and 20	4
14 and 20	4
2 and 5	3
4 and 7	3
2 and 8	3
13 and 20	3

households 10, 23 and 25. Several young men from this group helped with the butchering and the others watched. One man in this latter group had lent his boat and another his motor and harpoon for the hunting trip. No other households were represented and, as far as I was able to ascertain, no meat went beyond this group to other households in the mission. Two other turtle butcherings had groups of people from households 1, 13, 14, 15 and 20, and 6, 9 and 22 respectively. Once again, the distributed meat stayed within these households.

Unlike the above cases, in situations where hunting trips included members of different mobs, the product would be distributed more widely into the households and mobs represented on the trip.

Within the mission cash economy we can also see mobs functioning as relatively independent ecomomic units. As I stated previously, households needed some cash. Each household paid to the mission 10% of its gross income in rent; households had to maintain their boats and motors, and every houshold had a range of consumer goods including cooking utensils, axes, knives, .22 rifles, frame beds and bedding. These, along with food and clothing, were purchased primarily at the mission store. During the week of 8 May 1978, the average expenditure at this store for 25 households was $91.64 each. Cash was also used for gambling at the gambling camps just outside the reserve.

Cash income was available from a number of sources, including wages from work at the mission, from the small amount of outside work on European properties and on federally-funded projects, and from unemployment benefits, pensions, family allowance and other social security benefits. Problems existed with exclusive reliance on one of these sources. Access to mission jobs was relatively limited as only 25 or so jobs were available. Outside work paid well, but was scarce too and it required individuals usually to live away from home for long periods. Both of these sources, while providing the highest levels of income, were clearly not open to some households. Another problem with dependence on mission wage work was that it tied a household to the mission. This often severely restricted bush trip activity and the ability of a household to move out of the mission into the nearby camps.

Income without being tied down to a job was thus considered ideal. Dependence by a household on the other major category of income, transfer payments, was one possibility. The problem here was that the amount of an age pension was only about half that of a mission wage.

Further, every household did not have a pensioner in it. Unemployment benefits were available but they took a long time to organise, there was offical paperwork involved and the mission pressured people to take work if available while on these benefits. Thus many people who would otherwise be eligible did not receive income from this source. The social security benefit most secure and easiest to obtain was family allowance. While not a large amount, it was paid automatically to all women with children under 16 years of age.

For the purposes of obtaining an adequate income, yet also maintaining supplies of bush resources, the following categories were necessary for a group:

(i) one to two wage workers, or several pensioners;

(ii) a number of unemployed males available for bush trips to supply meat from hunting and to obtain firewood;

(iii) a number of women receiving family allowance and who organized store commodity buying, domestic labour and who also undertook regular bush trips for fish, shellfish and bush vegetables.

It was rare to have all of these in a single household. Having large numbers of unemployed males in a household meant greater opportunities for bush foods, but this group also had to be fed with store foods for which cash was needed. Another problem for older people in a household was actually getting the young men to undertake bush trips. Households with several unemployed young men where this was not a problem invariably had an abundance of bush foods. For example, household number 8 rarely had anyone regularly working for wages, yet the sons were renowned turtle hunters and the family was never short of bush food. On the other hand, some households (e.g. 16 and 20) had lots of young available men, but they were often loathe to go out on bushtrips for the household. In these cases the households suffered periods of relative scarcity, especially if they had no one working for wages. Households consisting only of pensioners (3, 10, 25 and 26) also often had trouble tapping into the supply of bush meats and firewood provided by young men.

The imbalance in economic role within individual households was only a problem if one considers the household to be an independent unit. As it turns out, the same clusters of households which operated for bush trips also existed within the mission cash economy. Sources of household income and their amounts are shown in Table 23. These figures

TABLE 23

Source of household income for Kuku-Yalanji mobs at Bloomfield River Mission, week of 8/5/78

Mobs	House-holds	Approx. No. of Persons	Mission Wage	Other	Part-time Wage	Pens-ion	Unem-ploy-ment	Other*	Total Income
A	1,2,3, 4,14, 15,19 20	59	8	2	2	1	3	13	$1458.88
B	5,7, 12,26	31	5	1	-	3	1	5	$ 652.20
C	8,10, 23,25	28	4	-	1	4	4	4	$ 674.11
D	6,21, 22	24	1	-	1	2	5	5	$ 453.08
E	16,17	11	1	-	-	3	-	1	$ 215.01
F	9,18	13	-	-	3	3	2	4	$ 394.87
G	11	12	2	-	1	2	1	1	$ 297.23
H	24	6	-	-	-	2	1	1	$ 204.00

* Includes Family Allowance.

demonstrate that mobs generally had a spread of income sources which maximized their income and bush access, while minimizing wage labour effort. A tremendous amount of cash moved between households within a mob. At the same time, very little went between mobs. Although I have fewer concrete data on this, primarily because of the great difficulty in monitoring cash flow, an indirect way of examining intra-mob cash sharing (or at least of discovering its existence) is by looking at relative differences in household income and expenditure.

A striking feature of the formal mission economy was the very great differences in levels of income and expenditure between households. This was also true of individual households over time. Table 24 gives household expenditure at the mission store and household net incomes for the week beginning 8 May 1978. It also gives the percentage of income which was not wholly spent at the store for each household. If we remove from this list those households which did a significant amount of shopping at one or both of the other two non-mission stores in the Bloomfield valley (households 8, 10, 11, 21, 24, 25 and 26), and we also remove households which had a debit for the survey week (1, 2, 12, 13 and 17), we then have remaining fourteen households for which to determine average disposable income - i.e. income over and above store expenditure. When this is done we find that an average of 45% of these households' income is not spent by their immediate members at the store. Since they do not shop at the other stores, or keep much money in the bank (less than $100 was banked the week of the survey) or keep large amounts of cash at home, the surplus cash must be getting redistributed.

The money was being redistributed, firstly, in a general sense, through gambling. It is no coincidence that households known for their big gambling involvement - households 3, 5, 7, 9 - were also those with large surplus incomes (68%, 60%, 65% and 79%, respectively). Secondly, there was specfic redistribution amongst linked household members from those with a significant surplus of cash income to those with little or none (e.g. household 14 with a 62% surplus sharing with co-mob household number 2 which had a -15.9% debit and with household 13 with an enormous -634%. Such redistribution took the form of cash given to individuals on the basis of a kin relationship (e.g. a man giving money to his sister's son), but only between households in the same mob. It also took the form of food 'borrowing'. During 1978, members of household 14, which had considerable surplus, complained to me of the constant

TABLE 24

Household expenditure/income variability

Household	Store Expenditure ($)	Net Income ($)	Percentage Difference*
1	77.89	61.85	- 20.6
2	92.31	77.68	- 15.9
3	73.20	232.81	68.59
4	173.45	208.12	16.6
5	48.82	123.35	60.42
6	-	-	-
7	83.86	242.84	65.47
8	178.53	371.78	51.98
9	49.81	241.06	79.34
10	50.75	102.00	50.25
11	95.77	297.23	67.78
12	188.03	174.05	- 8.03
13	34.72	4.73	-634.00
14	159.10	419.26	62.05
15	94.94	98.46	3.48
16	108.92	164.01	33.59
17	93.03	51.00	- 82.41
18	121.50	153.81	21.01
19	67.58	118.00	42.73
20	118.57	242.70	51.15
21	66.56	190.92	65.14
22	90.57	108.35	16.41
23	69.55	98.33	29.27
24	38.44	204.00	81.17
25	63.70	102.00	62.45
26	51.38	111.96	54.11

* That is, percentage of income not spent at store

borrowing by household 13, a co-mob household with a very low cash income. Yet household 14 never refused the latter outright.

While there was an overall ideology of general redistribution according solely to kin ties, the fact was that in practice, such a process only occurred within mobs. I never saw nor heard of money being given easily, readily or on any sustained basis between members of different mobs, except between men and women who were 'sweethearts'; (see later). Nor was food shared between mobs on any regular basis. To illustrate, I once saw an old woman offer meat to several people in and around her house (all of whom were in her mob) and totally ignore another old woman of another mob who happened also to be there. On the rare occasions when food did go between mobs, it was always as a formal gift for a particular purpose (e.g. as a peace offering after a dispute or in payment for the lending of something).

Mob composition was also evident in store-buying behaviour. Groups of women from a mob tended to shop together - for example, sisters and their children or women married to brothers along with children from the same mob. The group of children accompanying a woman in the shop were often representative of the woman's mob. Women bought things like sweets or toys for any child in their own mob as readily as they did their own; buying for a child who belonged to another mob never occurred.[19]

Patterns of consumer or 'capital' goods usage were also along mob lines. This can be best seen with boats and outboard motors. There was almost constant travel by boat up and down the Bloomfield River from the mission down to several semi-permanent riverside camps, to Middle Camp and for bush trips along the river, out to the beaches and the reefs. The boats also occasionally provided transport to Daintree and Mossman. The number of boats and motors held by each mob is shown in Table 25.

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19. This was also true of watching or minding children. While all women in a mob (and men in certain instances) took more or less equal responsiblity for any children of their mob, this was not the case for children of other mobs. I heard women say if they saw a child from another mob getting into some potential danger (a situation which would bring immediate action within their own mob): "That mother want to watch that baby."

Table 25

Mob ownership of boats and motors.

Mob	Boats	Motors
A	8	10
B	3	4
C	3	3
D	3	2
E	1	3
F	1	1
G	1	0
H	0	1

A household with a number of boats and motors generally had a 'boss' for each one. This was the person in the household whose money largely paid for it. In some instances, this was even a young woman who never drove a boat. In practice, a particular boat or motor having a particular boss meant little as to who in a household or in the wider mob would use the boat. In the former case, asking permission of the boss was usually not necessary, but the too frequent lack of doing so in the latter case often resulted in grumbling by the boss and other household members. However, between mobs, boats and motors are rarely lent. A large dispute between two mobs was triggered off in 1980 when one man took the boat of a man from another mob without asking him.

There is another way here in which the linking pattern between households in a mob could be seen. Some households only possessed an outboard petrol tank or oars, and others only a motor. Further, persons in these households generally had no intention of buying the complementary equipment. This pattern of ownership only makes sense when the households are viewed as being linked into larger clusters.

X.5.2 Social boundaries of mobs.

In describing the composition of the mission above, I have demonstrated how a signifcant unit of the settlement in economic terms was the set of linked households known as mobs. Members of mobs undertook joint bush trips for camping, hunting and fishing. They also

balanced or spread sources of cash income between households to maximise benefit with the least restriction. Circulation of cash was primarily within mobs rather than between them, and food, tools and other goods were also shared almost exclusively within a mob. I look now at other ways in which the mobs were delineated.

Apart from their economic independence, Kuku-Yalanji mobs were also socially distinct. Thus mobs at the mission were usually overtly labelled and were explicitly recognised and talked about by Kuku-Yalanji. Labels included reference to the surname of a large family in the mob ('Walker mob' or 'Nyandi mob'). Mob names also sometimes derived from the name of some major bush camp which members used or came from originally ('Thompson Creek mob'). The name could also come from some prominent feature of the estates which focal mob members own ('Seaside mob'). Membership for the most part in a mob was seen as clear-cut, although this could changeover time with marriages, deaths and disputes leading to mob fission. At any given point in time, however, it was fairly easy to specify people's mob affiliation. People claimed, often truthfully too, little knowledge of another mob's affairs, history, etc. However, certain negative aspects (for instance, a 'crooked marriage' or liaison) were often known and used as abuse in disputes if necessary.

People in different mobs had little to do with each other socially. Visiting provides a good example. Individuals or small groups often called in to different households at different times: women in the mid-morning and everyone in the evenings (see Plate XVI). People generally sat outside the house around the fire and sometimes had a cup of tea or more generally, just sat and talked. In seven months residence with one central household in mob A, I witnessed over 1,000 visiting events. Of these, only about 18% were from non-members of mob A, and most of these were semi-formal visits which involved requests or queries addressed to a man in the household who was on the settlement Council.

Residential proximity in the mission settlement was partly related to mob composition. Two to three households from one mob often lived in adjacent or nearby houses. This was the case primarily because the people at the Kuku-Yalanji camps at Bloomfield in the 1960s (camps largely mob-based) had been brought into the mission in 'waves', one camp at a time, and put into groups of houses which had been built together. In the late 1970s, too, some households were able, for

Plate XVI Intra-mob visiting, Bloomfield River Mission, 1978.

Plate XVII Distribution of turtle meat, Bloomfield River, 1979.

reasons I will discuss later, to obtain new housing close to other member households of their mob. However, linked households were not always able to live close together because of countervailing forces. These forces included the financial or logistic restraints applied by the mission Manager and staff, and also the physical limitations of the mission-site itself. Even in a settlement as small as the Bloomfield Mission, the distance between houses was sometimes used as a reason for not involving all households in a mob activity (e.g. a party for a child), especially if it was night-time and old people were involved. Proximity of households from different mobs often produced problems in the mission. It was these situations to which people were referring when they complained that the mission houses were built too close together. If tension with neighbours in such situations got too great, then households, if possible, would often move out of the mission for extended periods into bush camps. Especially if there had been a large-scale dispute involving people from different mobs and if one of them was feeling particularly wronged or 'shamed', a whole mob would sometimes pick up and leave the mission at a moment's notice for a bush camp elsewhere in the valley.

Mob-based camps were also set up on a temporary basis for a variety of purposes including preparation and consumption of bush resources (e.g. wild yams), butchering of turtles or pigs (see Plate XVII), or as a gambling site (although these generally had constant visitors from other mobs). Camps were also set up because people simply want to get away from the mission environment. As one Kuku-Yalanji man remarked: "We goin' down [to] the beach. Campin' out. Too much noise here. People singin' out [at] night-time. You can't get a chance for sleep! Bush [is] quiet. No more big mob people." During the holiday periods and long weekends the mission was often deserted, with Kuku-Yalanji dispersed into camps all over the valley. At one stage in 1979 there was an exact equivalence between mobs and camps at Bloomfield. In such cases, the camps were almost wholly independent with little or no visiting between them. Most regularly used camp areas were closely associated with particular mobs, and people from other mobs never used these sites (see Plates XVIII and XIX).

Marriage patterns also reveal something of mob boundaries. There was a strong tendency for people to marry outside of their own mob. In 1979, 82% of all existing marriages were of this type. This was partly

Plate XVIII Kuku-Yalanji bush camp along Annan River, 1979.

Plate XIX Preparing spearsticks in a bush camp near China Camp, 1977.

due to the small size of many mobs. Yet even with the very large ones, young people generally either married a non-Kuku-Yalanji person or one from another mob. Inter-mob romances and marriages led to major conflicts at Bloomfield, partly because the 'origin mobs' of both partners usually lived in the mission and the relationship between the two was used as an excuse to bring up other, already existing points of contention. I return to this conflict in a moment. Such problems, along with a general lack of suitable partners in the mission, led a large number of Kuku-Yalanji young people to marry non-Bloomfielders. Among the 55 marriages which took place between 1957 and 1980, 36 or 66% were with outsiders. Table 26 shows where these outside spouses came from. This situation is in line with the trend which I described in Chapter IX.

TABLE 26
Area of origin of 'outsider' spouses, 1957-1980

Time	Area	Number
1957-1964	Normanby, Laura, Coen 'side'	9
	Cooktown 'side'	6
	Woorabinda	4
1965-1974	Hope Vale	9
	Mossman	2
	European	2
1975-1980	South/Central Queensland	2
	Kuranda	1
	Total	35

Conflict amongst Kuku-Yalanji in the mission was a domain which perhaps best revealed mob delineations. I have firm data on 72 cases of conflict which occurred within the mission over a 13 month period. By conflict I mean an event in which two or more people had a loud, prolonged argument which usually resulted in a physical altercation. The other important criterion is that conflicts were, by definition, public. In other words, everyone in the settlement knew who was involved and what the issues were. Such events also often occurred in areas where they could be seen by the maximum number of people - for example, on the main road into the mission right in front of the majority of houses. People constantly monitored the sound levels of the settlement for signs of a fight or an argument. Even amid the great din and diversity of everyday sounds at the mission, people were

keenly attuned to that initial shout or series of yells which indicated the escalation of a dispute. Once it was determined what and who were involved, decisions were made whether certain individuals needed to be beckoned or hurriedly got from down at the river wharf or the gambling school, whether general support was needed for a mob member, or whether it was merely an internal household argument.

Interestingly, with respect to mobs, by far the greatest number of conflicts (over 65%) occurred <u>within</u> the mob. Over half of these were between husband and wife and remained at that level. These always had the potential, however, for development into inter-mob conflicts if husband and wife were from different mobs and if other people thought that the issue warranted intervention. A total of 31% of conflicts were inter-mob ones, and of these 16 (or 73%) involved either a situation in which a spouse called in his or her mob over a marital dispute, or else the disputes were between mobs over a potential marriage (for example, if a young couple from different mobs absconded into the bush, then each mob blamed the other for having caused the elopement). By far the most numerous kind of conflict were those involving siblings or a parent and a (grown) child. These made up 42% of all conflicts, but they were usually brief and restricted events. While less frequent, the inter-mob conflicts were almost always noisy and violent affairs. They were also protracted, sometimes extending, as a series of incidents, over several days or longer. They often only ceased when one mob or a centrally involved household took off into the bush. With these conflicts, too, far more people were generally drawn in, as individuals were called upon to back other mob members.

Conflict also had the potential to create new group boundaries. The only time I ever witnessed Kuku-Yalanji from different mobs joining together to fight was in a number of conflicts involving Hope Vale Aborigines. In one case, a Hope Vale man had been brought in to Bloomfield by the mission as a community policeman and he had created widespread resentment over his attitude towards Bloomfield people in general. He was said to 'chuck off' at Kuku-Yalanji (i.e. to insult or denigrate them), and was also renowned for his ready willingness to use his baton against all and sundry. He finally left the job, but was later involved in a series of encounters, both in Cooktown and at Bloomfield. In these, the man and his Hope Vale relations fought with a Bloomfield inter-mob group. A critical attitude towards Hope Vale and

its residents was one of the few views which Kuku-Yalanji mobs at Bloomfield shared.

X.6 The basis of mob composition.

With the above data on economic and social patterns, and with evidence gained from participant observation in the mission, I am able to delineate fairly clearly the mobs at Bloomfield Mission as they existed in 1977-1979. Table 27 shows the mobs, the households and number of individuals in them and the patriclans represented. The mobs and the relationships within and between them are shown in the genealogies in Appendix C. I now turn to the question of the composition of the individual mobs and why they are constituted the way they are.

Before saying something about specific mobs, I want to look briefly at the role of past residence, descent and kinship in mob composition.

A past history of residential proximity seems to have been a factor in contemporary mob membership. Not surprisingly, Kuku-Yalanji mob affiliation in the mission corresponded reasonably well with the the earlier Bloomfield camps and their internal clusters (see Chapter VIII and Table 28). Mob A consisted almost wholly of people who lived in the western portion of Dikarr, while mob E made up the eastern bloc of households in this camp. (Members of mobs G and H were at that time spread between the two household clusters at Dikarr.) These clusters partly reflected the middle to lower Bloomfield River estate origins of the former group and the China Camp origins of the latter. Mob C corresponded almost exactly with the old Banabila camp mob, while mobs B, D and F - all Annan River groups - were evident as household clusters at Jajikal. The correlation between mission mob membership and pre-mission camp residence at the very least demonstrates some continuity of mob identity.[20]

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20. Interestingly, the mob which lived at Jajikal prior to the arrival of the Annan people became virtually extinct, with the one or two descendents remaining at Bloomfield going between mobs C (because of descent ties) and mobs B and D (because of affinal links). Others lived at Mossman.

TABLE 27

Mob composition at Bloomfield River Mission, 1980

Mob	Households	Patriclans	Men	Women	Children	Totals
A	1, 2, 3, 4,	*Wujalwujal*	3	2	1	6
	14, 15, 19	*Mulujin*	2	1	0	3
	22	Upper Daintree	1	2	0	3
		Bulban	6	4	8	18
		Kuna	2	1	14	17
		Green Hill	2	0	7	9
		Normanby	2	0	2	4
		Kangkaji	0	1	0	1
		Dandi	1	0	0	1
		Hope Vale	1	2	4	7
			20	13	36	69
B	5, 7, 12,	*Kuna*	4	5	5	14
	26	*Ngulungkaban*	1	2	2	5
		Normanby	2	0	0	2
		Wujalwujal	1	0	5	6
		Warrkin	0	1	0	1
			8	8	12	28
C	8, 10, 23,	*Balabay*	5	7	3	15
	25	Upper Daintree	0	2	0	2
		Kuna	1	0	7	8
		Pr.Charl.Bay	3	0	3	6
		Laura	1	0	0	1
		Sth. Q'land	1	0	2	3
			11	9	15	35
D	6, 19, 22	Green Hill	2	3	0	5
		Kabu	1	0	6	7
		Lockhart R.	2	1	3	6
		Muwu	1	0	1	2
		Kulki	0	1	0	1
			6	5	10	21
E	16, 17	Upper Daintree	3	1	10	14
		Kangkaji	0	1	0	1
		Nyambilnyambil	0	1	0	1
		Kuranda	0	1	0	1
		Buru	0	2	0	2
			3	6	10	19
F	9, 18	*Nyambilnyambil*	3	0	5	8
		Buru	2	2	0	4
			5	2	5	12
G	24	*Muwu*	4	2	4	10
		Wujalwujal	0	3	0	3
			4	5	4	13
H	11	*Wujalwujal*	6	2	2	10
		Buru	0	1	0	1
		Laura	1	0	5	6
			7	3	7	17

TABLE 28

Aboriginal population at Bloomfield River Mission by major camp origin, 1978

Camp of origin	Households	Mobs	Men	Women	Children	Total
Banabila	8, 10, 25	C	8	9	3	20
Jajikal	6, 7, 9, 12, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24	B, C, D, F, H	18	19	43	80
Dikarr	1, 2, 3, 4 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20	A, E G	30	24	36	90
Others*	8, 15, 20, 22, 25, 26 + temporary camps	A, B, C, D	17	9	29	55

* Those not resident at the above camps or associated with them.

In Chapter III, I noted the existence of clusters of estates and of groupings of people based on these cluster affiliations. These were sometimes termed 'company' or 'nation'. They were important economic units in that they shared production tasks and product; they were demographic and residential units (in varying sizes and forms depending on the season); they were marriage units in that they tended to be endogamous; they were cultural units, sharing sites and knowledge; and they were political units. I suggested in the case studies of Chapters VI - VIII that these estate cluster affiliations were an important factor in camp residence and composition during the two articulation phases of the contact era. This also seems to have been the case with mobs in mission-time. Certain people in the same mob tended to be from the same estate cluster. There are several problems with this as an explanation for mob composition, however. One is that, although while remaining as an ideology for mob identity, it appeared to be becoming less and less a reality. In other words, estate cluster affiliation was becoming less important for mob membership. Secondly, it does not account for the fission of mobs based on one estate cluster into several smaller mobs (e.g. mobs G and H from Mob A). Also estate affiliation in general does not account for <u>whose</u> estate is important for mob identification and whose is not.

In X.5 I presented data on patriclan membership at Bloomfield Mission. If we compare these data with mission mob membership in the late 1970s, it is apparent that the congruence is only minor. Table 27

shows that all mobs contained members of more than one clan and that overall, there were on average almost five clans represented in each mob. While descent was not unimportant in mob membership, there were clearly other factors operating. Since descent was one of the ways of reckoning mob membership, the question once again is whose line of descent was significant for such purposes.

Similarly it is difficult to posit kinship in general as a basis for mob membership. The genealogies in Appendix C could be linked together to show that all mob members were related to each other one way or another. But so also were people in different mobs. Some relationships, though, did seem to be more important than others, and these tended to recur in different mobs. Focal relationships for mobs appear to have been those between siblings, children of siblings and parent-children. A mob could thus form or increase in size as a cluster of nuclear families expanded (if they were able) their 'horizon' to incorporate the new families of children as they married. There still remains the issue of why some relations were emphasised and others ignored. More importantly, a focus on kinship as an explanation for mob composition tells us nothing of how new mobs came into being and how or why old ones disintegrated.

Residence, estate proximity, descent and kinship were all important factors in mission-time Kuku-Yalanji mob composition. However, as with the case studies which I presented in Chapters VI - VIII, I suggest that a more crucial factor was the role certain individuals (including dead people) played as focal points for the mobs. Further, I will argue that competition between some of these individuals, and by extension, their mobs, for prestige and material gain was a major dynamic of mob formation, composition and fission. In order to get a better insight into these issues I want now to examine something of the composition of Kuku-Yalanji mobs and the role of individuals in them. In the next chapter, I then look at the mission administration as an intervention complex and examine its effects and the context which it provided for mob competition.

X.6.1 Mob composition and the role of individuals.

As Table 27 demonstrates, mob A was very large, having ten households and 70 people in all. This was twice as big as the next

biggest group, mob C. Eight of the adults in mob A had a common grandfather (Kalkamanangu, whom I mentioned in Chapter VIII) and six of them had the same mother (Nellie Yerrie, Kalkamanangu's daughter). These latter two individuals, although both dead, were central figures whose evocation acted as a unifying factor for mob A on many issues. Both of them were strong and influential people; both had three spouses and numerous children; both were focal people of the camp at Dikarr - partly through their genealogical-estate affiliations (one of Kalkamanangu's wives, Kajakaja, was the sole owner of the estate on which the camp was located), but also by force of their personalities. I have already discussed the position and authority of the old man. Nellie was also a force to be reckoned with at Dikarr in the 1960s. She was strong-willed, impetuous, did as she pleased, and had the forceful demeanour to back up her intentions and actions. She firmly controlled all of her eight children throughout her life, and had a large say in the marriages of all of them except one. As her children married, too, they tended to bring their spouses to Dikarr and to raise their families in the same camp.

Nellie died before the shift to the mission, but here too, her connections served the mob well. Her third husband had been the senior traditional owner of Wujalwujal, the estate on which the new mission was located. Nellie's children, the adults of mob A today, in turn had many children (a total of 33). The cohesion of the group in these two generations was also very apparent. The new families of many of the children, both male and female, as they married were drawn back into mob A, instead of into the families of their spouses. This was partly because of the force and unity of the mob remaining from Kalkamanangu's and Nellie's time, but it was also due to several individuals in the mob in mission-time. Of Nellie's children, five were still alive in 1977-9. There were also two other adult grandchildren of Kalkamanangu at the mission in this period. These seven adults, their children and families were the basis of Mob A. The group, although large, often operated as one on many issues. This was primarily due to the central focus of power and authority in one man, operating often in conjunction with two of his sisters. This man, B.Y., is the only surviving son of Nellie, and in addition, was her youngest child. He was doted upon by his grandfather, Kalakamanangu, by his mother and by his older sisters and was used to getting his own way with them, and later, with everyone

else. He never married and was the authority figure for all of his numerous sisters' sons and daughters. Two of B.Y.'s sisters were strong figures in their own right, vocal and with firm opinions. When these three individuals were at one on a given issue, the resultant mob unity and power was irresistible. Because of the strength of the mob's past connections, its size and with the cohesion provided by strong living individuals, the form and content of mission life at Bloomfield was heavily shaped by Mob A.

Mob B was comprised of five households of about 28 people. Two brothers were the focus of this mob, and they were the grandsons of a powerful Kunawarra man who was at the Shipton's Flat camp earlier this century. One of these men (B.F.), and most of the other brothers and children and wives were sent to Palm Island in 1941 from Shipton's Flat. B.F. returned with his family to SECYP in the mid-1960s and joined his brother (J.F.) at Jajikal when that camp's Kuku-Nyungkul phase began. In the late 1970s at the mission, people always referred to one or both of these men when discussing Mob B. J.F. was highly knowledgeable in traditional matters and was one of the two main singers for corroborree dances. He was also a prominent church elder, had a neat house with a white post fence and mowed his lawn regularly. He was respected by most Kuku-Yalanji and by European mission staff. His brother, B.F., was an astute man who, behind a bumbling image, was constantly scheming and hustling unsuspecting Europeans. This man was also married to a quick-tempered, intelligent woman who, partly because of her proclivity for physical violence in an argument often got her way. Because of these traits, she was also a central person in Mob B. As in the previous case, all of the children of these individuals remained with mob B once married. Authority of the central figures over their children remained high, and the mob occasionally acted as a countervailing force to Mob A.

Mob C was the second largest mob at Bloomfield with 35 people over four households. Yet it was also one of the weakest mobs. Until about 1970, Mob C was based at Banabila camp and its 'founders' were three brothers, the sons of that camp's boss at the turn of the century. Two of these brothers married sisters and between them they had nine children. As I noted in Chapter VIII, the older brother, O.O., was the focal point for the mob for many years. The group was reluctant to leave Banabila and only on O.O.'s death did they do so. Although O.O. had numerous sons, none of them were politically ambitious at the

mission, and only one of them married. (Significantly, he married a Hope Vale woman and stayed at Hope Vale after his marriage). O.O.'s younger brother, B.M., did not have the desire nor the personality to act as a focal point for the mob and had no control over his brothers' children. Most of the daughters and granddaughters of O.O. either never married, left the area or married into other mobs. Consequently, while remaining a loose amalgam of households which had a common identity, shared goods and did things such as hunt and fish together, Mob C had no ability to coalesce as a political force. Not unrelated to this was the fact that this mob was also one of the mission's least powerful and materially worst-off mobs.

Mob D had three households of 21 persons. It consisted of the families of two sisters (one dead) and a brother. The husbands of the two women were prominent men in the mission settlement - one an ex-chairman of the Council (P.N.) and the other the head stockman of the mission for many years (C.T.) and a church elder. Although the mob traced its connections through the women and their brother, the remaining sister had no particular power and the brother was a quiet and unambitious man who was rarely involved in any important mob decision. It was the two husbands who were the focal points. A problem here though was that they were both very independent, rarely co-operated and had little to do with one another. They were also both outsiders as far as estate affiliation was concerned. One was a Kuku-Nyungkul speaker from the Annan area and the other, Kuku-Bidiji from Green Hill. Both had many children, but neither was able to turn them into political capital. In the case of P.N., his children were still young and unmarried, while with C.T., his oldest sons had been absorbed through marriage, into Mob A, while several of his daughters had gone to Mossman with their husbands.

Mob E was largely defined by its relationship to the Baird brothers, Norman and Charlie, during Dikarr days (see Chapter VIII). It was basically only two households of about 15 people, centred on Norman Baird's nephew, his wife and their children. This man, R.B., had a quiet, shy demeanour and he was never an important political force in the mission settlement. Lack of any control over his children (to keep them in jobs, to have them get bush produce, and to bring them together on mob issues) all also meant a diffusion/dispersal of mob energies and power.

Mobs F, G and H were basically only extended family households with 12 (two households), 13 (two households) and 17 (three households) people respectively. Mob F was focused on one man and his unmarried brothers, and it was a splinter-group from Mob B at Jaiikal; Mob G revolved around a very old, respected bushman, and Mob H around a quiet man with lots of quiet children. Both of the latter were factions which broke away from Mob A at Dikarr in the late 1960s. These three mobs, because of their size and because of personal and structural considerations, were almost irrelevant to settlement politics in the late 1970s. Consequently they were in low-status positions and had little power, prestige and material goods. (There were also individuals in the settlement who were, for practical purposes, not members of any mobs, and thus were in similarly marginal positions.)

I have described above Kuku-Yalanji mobs at the Bloomfield River Mission. I have noted that there were differences between mobs in terms of status, prestige and power. I will return to these in the next chapter. One thing that the mobs did share was that they were all kindred clusters crystallizing about one or two central figures. It was usually only the descent line of these latter that was significant in any notion of the mob as a clan. There were differences, however, between what we could term focal individuals and majamaja, or bosses as I used the notion in the previous case studies. While a boss was always a focal individual, the reverse was not necessarily true. While a focal person was essential for the very existence of a mob, having a boss in a mob currently or in the recent past had a powerful unifying effect on a mob and more or less ensured for it a powerful position. It is necessary here to examine briefly characteristics of the two categories.

The focal individual was normally a man of at least middle-age or older, yet not old enough to be physically or mentally debilitated. As shown in Chapter IV, the status of women in Kuku-Yalanji society traditionally meant that only an exceptional woman gained positions of real power and focus. This was still true in mission-times, (although there are some important differences which I will discuss later). Focal individuals were normally married, lived with their spouse and had numerous children and grandchildren, some of whom were normally resident with them. In other words, focal individuals headed a residence unit which consisted of one or more households. They also headed an economic unit in which they exerted some degree of control over production and

distribution of both bush resources and cash income. Their decisions about a range of matters including mob moves, activities, etc. affected a number of people (ca. 10 - 15). Focal individuals were the persons whom people in the mob used as a reference point for each other (although descent could be traced through a dead person, as in the case of Mob D). These persons were also reference points for the group used by outside, non-mob members. A focal individual's name was generally used for the mob itself (e.g. 'Tayley mob') and such a name was also often used for a bush camp associated with the mob (e.g. 'Olbar camp').

The term boss had a number of meanings at Bloomfield. Anyone could take on a boss-like role in specific situations. For example, as I noted earlier in this chapter, a young woman might be a 'boss for' a tape recorder or similar item for which her money had paid. Yet this usually meant little in practical terms as to other people's use of it. People also used the term as a term of address for people from whom they were trying to obtain money or other goods. For example, a young man might say to his MB: "Hey boss, any chance of gettin' a couple of bucks off ya?"

To <u>be</u> a boss was generally quite different.[21] It depended on an ability to influence people, either positively or negatively. The amount and extent of this influence was where we can see the difference between the focal individual of a mob and a proper boss. Bosses' decisions affected a far greater number of people, including those in other mobs. Such influence was a complex interaction between structural position (age, sex and clan membership), personal qualities and mob status and prestige.

In the case of structural qualities, I have noted previously that it was impossible for a younger person (ca. 20s or 30s) or a woman to be a boss. It was also difficult for a man with all the other requirements, but who was from a foreign or non-Kuku-Yalanji clan, to be a boss. A young man, a woman or an outsider could be focal individuals for a mob and be influential people, but they would not be real bosses.

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21. It is important to state that this does not mean that the term 'boss' was always necessarily used for such individuals. The overuse of the term by someone ('skiting') usually, in fact, indicated a lack of real power. I use the term more as a convenient label.

Thus bosses had to fulfil the structural principles on which the pre-1880 Kuku-Yalanji system operated. Yet other qualities were necessary. These included, as with the bosses of old, forcefulness, determination, articulateness and an ability to resolve issues for people, intelligence, political acumen, willingness to be aggressive and perhaps, most importantly, a self-consciousness or a righteous belief in one's own importance. Two other significant factors were a personal history which meant that one had a combination of solid knowledge and skills in the traditional Kuku-Yalanji sphere and, at the same time, an ability to deal successfully with Europeans. This generally meant that such individuals had not left or been removed from SECYP for any significant time during their lives, and that they had dealings with Europeans (often as a worker for their own maja) earlier at one of the major camps as I described in the other case studies.

Structural and individual characteristics were linked with mob status and prestige in a reciprocal fashion. The stronger mobs tended to have strong focal individuals, who may or may not have been bosses, (and this latter in turn depended on the status of their mobs). The weaker mobs inevitably had weaker focal individuals. Mob and individual prestige and authority were inextricably linked. It was almost impossible in the long run for a strong individual not to have a strong mob, unless some other condition was not met - for example, that he chose not to, or that he was an outsider or a traveller. In order for a mob to be powerful and to have a prestigious reputation, it had to have a strong individual and preferably a full-blown boss, if not in the present then at least somewhere in its recent past. I have noted the effect of Kalkamanangu on Mob A. It is doubtful whether the force for unity provided by a dead boss could survive for long without a new, living boss.

There are other conditions which also had to be met before a mob could attain a powerful position and before a focal individual could fulfil his potential as a boss. The latter himself or his sisters had to have lots of children. This was a most important factor and Kuku-Yalanji explicitly discussed the political and economic advantages which having a lot of children gave one's family. The mob itself also had to be viable enough to keep children affiliated with it once they had married. Also, the mob (though not necessarily the boss) had to have solid descent ties with currently significant country (i.e. areas such

as the mission reserve land or land that was used frequently for camping or for hunting). Often related to this was the need for a mob to have a direct descent link to one of the old camp bosses (e.g. Kalkanangu, Yanban or Bluja King). Access to and control of a major residential site outside of the mission was also essential. Having met these conditions, a mob had to have an individual with the structural and personal characteristics necessary to take advantage of them. Most importantly, this person had to be willing and able to control the actions of mob members, especially young adults. His authority had to be respected and his arguments listened to. This was particularly so in the case of economic activities, sexual behaviour, marriage and young male agonistic behaviour (to both be able to stop and to instigate the latter).

With a number of people of the same generation in the same mob, it was also necessary for most of them, for reasons of choice or of personality, not all to want the sort of responsibilities required of a boss. In other words, most of the adults in a mob had, for most of the time, to be willing to follow the lead of a boss, rather than be his rivals. Male sibling rivalry, in particular, always had the potential to be a major cause of Kuku-Yalanji mob fission.

In summary, mobs were defined to a large extent by certain individuals within them. I have made a distinction between focal individuals and bosses, both as focal or reference points for groups and as controllers of actions within them. However, the difference between the two was one of degree rather than category and the difference is basically between structural characteristics and personal ones. The outcome was differential amounts and range of influence. The status and prestige of the mob were also significant here for determining the relative power of their focal individuals or bosses.

X.7 Conclusion.

This chapter has been the first part of an attempt to view the (ethnographic) present as a function of historical forces and processes. In the chapter I have begun a description and analysis of my final case study, the Bloomfield River Mission in the late 1970s. I have shown how, with the renewal of major state intervention in the 1950s and 1960s, a new centralization policy was initiated in SECYP, and how this

ultimately produced the mission, a permanent Aboriginal settlement run by the Lutheran Church. I then presented a detailed description of the composition of this settlement and something of its social and economic organization. I demonstrated that the mobs, which had previously been camp-based, continued to be significant units within the mission settlement and that key individuals played an important role in the definition of those units. The discussion of mobs and bosses in this chapter lays the groundwork for an analysis of the mission in terms of the model of change which I have developed thus far in the thesis.

Chapter XI: The nature of Aboriginal-European articulation in SECYP in the 1970s.

XI.1 Introduction.

This chapter examines the nature of the articulation between the Aboriginal and European systems in SECYP in the late 1970s. It demonstrates that there were several significant continuities with the previous forms of articulation, but it also reveals the emergence of a new and different articulation period: one in which the Aboriginal mode appears to be changing from being wholly subordinate to disappearing altogether. I argue that this is partly because of the continuities in the situation as a whole that the articulation process is entering this dissolution stage for most Kuku-Yalanji groups. The key to this paradox or apparent contradiction is that the mission is, to a large extent, similar to the case studies presented earlier in the thesis. This is particularly the case with respect to the one group's domination of the mission and of all the other Kuku-Yalanji groups there because of, amongst other things, the group's estate affiliations, its history of past powerful individuals and the existence of powerful present ones, its control of marriages and young people and its relationships with the major European intervention complex. I demonstrate that this situation produces significant social and economic inequalities between groups in the mission. Further, I suggest that it also prevents the reproduction of the other groups as macro-domestic units within an Aboriginal social formation (however subordinate). In other words, I predict that while the dominant group's identity and power are reinforced (and its mode of production furthered), the dissolution of the other groups is accompanied by the dissolution of the Aboriginal mode as it is represented in those groups.

I begin the chapter by briefly describing the major contemporary intervention complexes in the Bloomfield area. I then look in detail at the most significant of these, the state-mission complex, and at the role of European individuals within it and the relationship of Kuku-Yalanji mobs to both of these. Finally, I examine the outcome of this relationship and the changes which it has brought to the Kuku-Yalanji socio-cultural system.

In the previous chapter, I described the composition of the mobs at Bloomfield and the role which individuals play in defining them. However, while mentioning relative statuses and competition, I said little about concrete relations between mobs. In what contexts and on what basis do mobs and individuals in them compete? In order to look at this I must describe more fully the non-Kuku-Yalanji and non-local forces which operated specifically on the mission and on the Bloomfield area in general.

XI.2 European intervention in SECYP.

In some ways the situation with respect to intervention by Europeans at Bloomfield in the late 1970s was more complicated than it was for the period already described (up to World War Two). In the 1970s there were far more Europeans coming in as temporary visitors; there was much more official and bureaucratic intervention and there were more diffuse influences coming in as a result of increased communication. At the same time, the situation of Kuku-Yalanji people which I shall describe in this chapter was more simple than previously. This is because of the overwhelming dominance of one intervention complex in Kuku-Yalanji lives. This complex is the one I introduced in the previous chapter; it is the Lutheran Church acting in conjunction with the Queensland Government's Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement (D.A.I.A.) to administer the Bloomfield River Mission.

Given the limitations of space and aim in this final case study and chapter, I cannot present here a full and detailed description of the effects of the contemporary European presence in SECYP. In any case, many of the forces (or at least the results) of past intervention complexes as I described them in previous chapters were still current in the 1970s. Nevertheless, I will summarise aspects of the less significant complexes, and in addition, describe in detail the mission intervention complex.

XI.2.1 Non-mission intervention.

The non-mission complexes can be divided into two types. Firstly, there were those which had a permanent human presence and whose effects were thus largely local in origin. Secondly, there were complexes which

were mostly based outside of the SECYP region altogether, but which impinged on Kuku-Yalanji through policy decisions and occasional forays by their representatives into the area.

There were two major complexes of the permanent, local type: (i) Europeans of long-standing residence who were retired or peripherally involved in small-scale farming, tin-mining or timber-getting; (ii) Europeans belonging to the so-called counter-culture who set up residence in the Bloomfield area in the early 1970s.

Europeans of long-standing residence in the Bloomfield area represented a unified category almost regardless of what they did for a living.[1] In fact, many of them had been involved with the whole range of European economic activities in this area. There were relatively few of them, totalling not much more than about 50 in 1978. They usually had been in the area for 20 years or more and were the second or third generation of a family which had been in SECYP since the beginning of European settlement. Some of the adults in this group were non-literate and few had travelled outside of the area. Their houses were often rudimentary with no permanent power or running water. The attitudes of people in this group concerning Aborigines in general were conservative. In fact, in thrust if not in detail, their views often closely resembled those described in V.3: Aborigines were seen as inferior to Europeans and had to give way to the development of the land by the latter. Persons in this group used the terms 'abos', 'niggers', 'gin' and 'boy' in their daily speech. Yet these were not necessarily used as overt terms of abuse or of explicit antipathy, but rather as mere descriptive, matter-of-fact labels.

Their general, rather racist attitudes often stood in some contrast to their relationships with and knowledge of local Aboriginal people. Some were familiar with many aspects of Kuku-Yalanji culture in general, and often knew a great deal about <u>particular</u> Kuku-Yalanji people and groups. This latter feature was the hallmark of the relationship between these European 'old-timers' and the Aborigines of SECYP. It was a personal one, not a general one. There was often an affection for certain families with a long-standing relationship and an admiration for particular individuals. There was often, too, on the part of the older

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1. This is in contrast to the earlier period when complexes were differentiated by economic activity.

Europeans in this group a notion that the 'blackfellas' of the old days were fine, upstanding men, far better than the Aborigines of today[2]. As one man said to me, "They were a fine lot those old bush fellas. Not like these young fellas today. We've spoilt them now."

Often the Europeans in this group were the children or grandchildren of past European bosses of Kuku-Yalanji camps, and this fact defined and governed their dealings with all Aboriginal people in SECYP. The family or individual was seen by Kuku-Yalanji to 'belong' to a particular mob, even if the camp dissolved many years before. This was especially the case with Europeans who were involved with the more stable, long-term intervention complexes of the earlier period - tin-mining, for example. The impact of the long-residence complex, such as it is, was becoming less as the older individuals died and as their descendents left the area. Another factor was the greatly reduced interaction which Kuku-Yalanji people had with this group as they became increasingly closeted away at the mission.

Since the 1950s, north Queensland in general was an area which attracted Europeans seeking an alternative life-style. At Bloomfield in particular, from the early 1970s on, there was a large increase in the number of such people. They were called hippies or mungka kalbay ['long hair'] by Kuku-Yalanji. They referred to themselves sometimes as a counter-culture, or as 'freaks', contrasted with the 'straights' (any other Europeans in the area). The hippies lived in small groups scattered all over the Bloomfield valley. The major communities included one at Wyalla Plains, several on the south bank of the Bloomfield River, one near the mouth of Thompson Creek and one at Cedar Bay. Some of the groups were involved with the use of drugs such as marijuana and heroin, and others had strict rules against them. Some groups had bought land in the area on a collective basis, while others were squatting. They had gardens, a few individuals had jobs and some received social security benefits. Some groups had associations with businesses in Cairns and elsewhere.

The values of the hippies with respect to land were conservation-oriented. They espoused self-sufficiency and saw themselves as rugged, frontier pioneers of the north Queensland 'wilderness'. Almost all held romantic stereotypes of Aborigines, and saw their traditional

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2. Older Kuku-Yalanji people said the same thing about the Europeans.

culture and life-style as having elements which they themselves were trying to achieve: living in harmony with nature, having a great knowledge of the bush and being able to survive in it, an economy based on co-operation and sharing, and a society based on egalitarianism, etc. The hippies, however, had virtually no knowledge of local Kuku-Yalanji people, language or culture, and in fact, had little to do with Aborigines at all. The hippies also did not get on well with the other Europeans in the area. The latter were often antagonistic towards them and their life-style, calling them 'bludgers' and 'layabouts'. As one self-identifying hippie woman remarked in 1980, "Communication between the freaks, the straights and the blacks at Bloomfield is absolutely zero."

There were some dealings, however. Some Kuku-Yalanji young men, while on turtle hunting trips to Cedar Bay, went to see the jalbu kambikari ['naked girls'], the hippie women who often wandered on the beach without their clothes. Some of these young men were also introduced to drugs on such visits. The major impact on Kuku-Yalanji people in general was the hippie occupation of land. Many of their settlements were on the sites of old camps, some with burials nearby. With their orientation towards conservation some hippies were against Aborigines hunting and against the taking of resources from environments such as the rain forest. There were many incidents during my fieldwork of hippies blocking Aboriginal access to regular hunting areas or travelling paths.

The second category of intervention complexes were all organizationally- or bureaucratically-based. Also, unlike the above cases where the effect on Kuku-Yalanji people was a by-product of other activities, the main aim of most of these was explicitly interventionist. On the one hand, these organizations included the government departments: the State Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement, the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs (D.A.A.), and other departments including Health, Education and Social Security. On the other hand, within this same category, there were the semi-government or non-government bodies. These included the Aboriginal Development Commission, the National Aboriginal Congress, the North Queensland Land Council and the Aboriginal Legal Service.

This set of complexes, while not permanently present in the Bloomfield region, had a great impact on Kuku-Yalanji people. As I

noted, they were all concerned, one way or another, with intervening in Aboriginal lives and they made policy decisions which affected them. There were many more of them than the permanent, local complexes. In general, they had little knowledge of the people and the area, and there was little continuity of individuals within these complexes over time. They were centralized elsewhere - generally Cairns, Brisbane or Canberra - and they sent representations periodically to perform particular tasks. Their visits were usually brief, lasting one to two days or less.

These organizations were part of the complex, diffuse and disembodied administrative specialization and compartmentalization of different domains of Aboriginal life which occurred during the 1970s. Both State and Commonwealth governments sent in teams to check on various aspects of Kuku-Yalanji health and to administer programmes of innoculation, eye tests, venereal disease tests and hygiene talks. Departments such as Fisheries, Forestry, Lands, Mining and National Parks also sent in people occasionally to find out things or to tell the mission residents something. Both governments sent Education Department representatives to check on various programmes at Bloomfield. The primary school itself at Bloomfield was the only permanent representation of any government department's intervention. However, the teacher turnover was high, the school and teacher residences were six kilometres away from the mission, and there was little if any interaction between the school and non-school-age Aboriginal residents. I will return to the effects of the school later in the chapter. D.A.A. and D.A.I.A. sent people to collect statistics, supervise funded projects, investigate particular issues, etc. Both of these latter departments, especially the state one, had a more general impact through their ties with the Lutheran Church mission administration (see later).

The semi-government and non-government bodies operated in the same way as the government ones. They too would send representatives for specific visits, usually on particular issues. They also lacked relevant local knowledge and there was no continuity of individuals involved. Decisions which these bodies made which were ultimately of relevance to Kuku-Yalanji people were, like the government bodies, made in the urban centres away from SECYP.

XI.2.2 The state-mission intervention complex.

This intervention complex dominated Kuku-Yalanji lives more fully and completely than any other complex, past or present. In a sense, it was not just another intervention complex, but was rather almost a total context for Kuku-Yalanji life. In this case, the nature of Kuku-Yalanji settlement and the major intervention complex were much more directly and explicitly linked than in the previous cases. Thus I must discuss this complex in some detail before moving on to examine the ways in which it interacted with the forms which I described in Chapter X. I will look briefly at the legislation which underlay the complex, then at the formal structure, aims and policy of the mission. Finally, I will describe how the mission complex operated in practice, and something of the Europeans involved and their attitudes.

The Bloomfield Mission as an intervention complex was part of a Queensland-wide system of administering the affairs of Aboriginal people resident on reserves gazetted for this purpose by the state government (see Anderson 1981). This system was based on the Aborigines Act 1971-1979 and its associated regulations. All residents and visitors to the Bloomfield settlement, Aboriginal and European, were subject to this legislation. It defined how and by whom the settlement was managed, who was allowed to be on the reserve and in the settlement, standards of behaviour therein, and mechanisms of enforcing the provisions of the legislation.

The formal governing body of the mission was the Hope Vale Mission Board, based in Brisbane. Its object, as defined at the 1975 Lutheran Church of Australia general convention, was to ". . . to organise, supervise and extend the work of preaching the Gospel . . . to the Aboriginals of Hope Vale and Bloomfield . . . and to promote their general welfare."[3] Part of the Board's duties, then, were "to administer the affairs of Aboriginal missions in Queensland in accordance with the policies of the Church" (1.a) and ". . . to negotiate with the Government in matters of Aboriginal welfare and to cooperate with it according to policies of the Church" (1.g). The Board

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3. Lutheran Church of Australia General Convention, Tanunda, S.A. "Rules: Hope Vale Mission Board" p. 375. See also document tabled at Hope Vale Board meeting, 20 March, 1978; copy in possession of author.)

was composed of three Lutheran pastors and five laymen. All were elected by the Church's General Synod. It was this board which administered the mission undertakings at Bloomfield from Hartwig's time on. It obtained funding from the state government for aspects of the Church's mission work, including vehicles, housing and Aboriginal wages. It also was responsible for finding suitable mission staff and for supervising their activities. The Board had a Treasurer and an Auditor who were in charge of mission finances, and an Executive Officer who saw to the implementation of most of the the day-to-day decisions concerning mission affairs. The Executive Officer, in constant communication with mission staff, was also the liaison person between the latter and the Board. At Bloomfield itself, the mission was under the supervision of a European manager appointed by the Board. The Manager, in conjunction with the Executive Officer, oversaw the everyday management of the mission. Although the manager was directly responsible to the Director of D.A.I.A. under the Aborigines Act, he usually dealt with the government only through the Executive Officer.

The Aborigines Act also made provision for an elected, five-person Aboriginal Council at the mission. This Council had regular meetings and made decisions on certain settlement matters. It was able to pass by-laws, although these had to be approved by the state Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. Under the above act, the Council was responsible directly to the Minister on all matters. In practice, the Manager took a proxy role on behalf of the Minister and attended most Council meetings. The minutes of the meetings, however, went to the Director of D.A.I.A., as did copies of incoming and outgoing telegrams.

The aims of the Church as set out above were thus to administer the mission in accordance with "the policies of the Church". However, in practice, these policies were never defined or discussed. This was not necessary. Apart from a general reference to Christian principles, its policy with respect to management of the mission and of Aboriginal affairs generally was wholly in line with that of the state government. This was a policy of assimilation in which, "All persons of Aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community" (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Act of 1965). The official term for this policy was altered in 1975 to 'integration', but the basic aims of assimilation remained the same (see Killoran 1981).

Beyond agreeing with the government's philosophical assumptions and policies, the Church also abided by several of its major administrative decisions concerning Bloomfield. The most important of these I have discussed in Chapter X. This was the Church's agreement to undertake the mission's supervision for a limited term of 25 years, after which time the Church would help with the removal of Bloomfield Aboriginal people from the area. In other areas it also adopted the government's notion of the mission as a 'training' ground for life in European society. Part of the congruence of Church and government aims came about as a result of both formal and informal or personal connections between persons in both organizations. The present Queensland premier, Sir J. Bjelke-Peterson, a Lutheran (and then a state cabinet minister), was Chairman of the Mission Board until 1962. His own personal views on Aboriginal policy matters always had a great impact on the directions of the D.A.I.A. More recently, the Mission Board's Executive Officer of the last ten years or so, was also a senior employee of the D.A.I.A. A representative of the government, usually the Deputy Director of D.A.I.A., also attended all Board meetings.

In 1974 at the Synod of the state Lutheran Church body, the Mission Board was given a directive to facilitate new policies which would ensure more local decision-making and grant Aborigines at the mission settlement greater self-determination [4] At about this same time the government realized that politically it was not able to move Bloomfield Aboriginal people out of the area. Government policy thus slowly shifted (as it did generally in Queensland) in the late 1970s towards making the reserve settlement of Bloomfield into a self-sufficient, European-style township (Killoran 1979).

In summary, the Mission Board was formally responsible for administering the Bloomfield settlement, and it did so primarily through its Executive Officer and Manager. The Aboriginal Council also played a role in some local administrative matters. The state government played an active part because of the ties between itself and the church and through its funding and legislative control. The formal relationships of administration which I have described above are shown in Figure 27.

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4. Noted in Kirsch (1980).

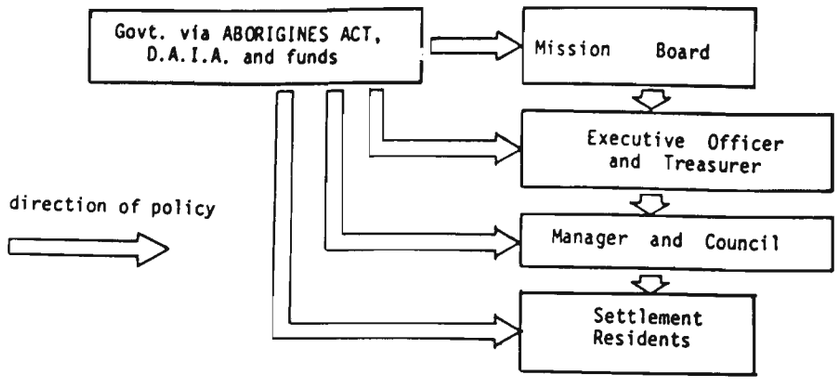

Figure 27 Formal relationships in administration of Bloomfield River Mission.

This bureaucratic structure (and the informal relations between its parts) constitute part of what I term the state-mission intervention complex. The other part of the complex which I want to turn to now is the way in which the formal roles of a number of key positions in it were manifest on the ground in practical terms in everyday mission life.

XI.2.3 The Manager.

The Manager in his role as a 'District Officer' under the Aborigines Act, was broadly charged with carrying out the administration of the Act (Sec. 10.(3b); 15.(3)). He was thus mentioned in many sections of the Act and in many of the regulations. In practice too he was involved in and had responsibility for most aspects of life in the settlement. In order to gain an understanding of this position, I list below some of the things which I either observed Managers doing or gained knowledge of them doing:

(i) chief speaker at work assembly every morning: allocated tasks to people, discussed general settlement affairs (including reprimanding if there had been any trouble at the settlement the night before);

(ii) conducted Church services on Sunday;

(iii) ran the store and ordered supplies for it; ran the bank and the post office, sorted people's mail and cheques; sent and received all telegrams and other messages on the wireless; all this was done, at least until 1979, in a room at the back of the Manager's house;

(iv) called and chaired Aboriginal Council meetings; took minutes and sent them to the Director; dealt with matters arising from the minutes, especially with respect to governmental or Board communications;

(v) was present at court sessions of the settlement Council which heard

cases concerning the breaking of mission by-laws;
(vi) did bookkeeping for mission accounts and prepared budget proposals; organized payroll and financial records, paymaster for mission workers;
(vii) drew up town plan for mission;
(viii) supervised other European staff and their projects;
(ix) supervised mission cattle and horses, as well as agricultural projects;
(x) was in charge of mission vehicles; drove vehicles into Cooktown to take patients to Cooktown Hospital, did banking, picked up mail and mission supplies;
(xi) ordered mission equipment;
(xii) kept and provided statistics on the mission for government departments;
(xiii) all Europeans coming into the mission went to see the Manager before doing anything else. I saw this occur with state and Commonwealth parliamentarians, departmental heads, field officers, legal aid investigators etc. The European police, responsible for investigating serious crimes committed on the reserve or elsewhere by mission residents, sometimes came to Bloomfield to question someone or to arrest a suspect. They always went to the Manager first, who then organized the required person for them. Tourists passing through the mission also went to the Manager to get permission to camp on the reserve or to get petrol. My letters to the Aboriginal Council requesting permission to come for fieldwork were always replied to by telegrams signed by the Manager. Permits for Aboriginal visitors were also necessary under the Act, and the Manager, sometimes in conjunction with the Council, arranged these. The Manager also played a big role in the process whereby Aboriginal people wishing to live at Bloomfield applied for a residence permit. (In both the case of visitors' and residents' permits, the Manager took the part of the Director of D.A.I.A. who could, under the Act, veto them, regardless of Council approval.);
(xiv) the Manager was involved in organising, and supervising Council elections and in recommending to the Director a temporary Councillor, should one resign before his or her term was finished;
(xv) the Manager was responsible for reporting a death to the authorities and was in charge of the corpse;

(xvi) the Manager was usually called out (often at night) if a serious fight developed at the mission. He would try to resolve it, to calm people down, physically restrain them and, if necessary, put people in the settlement gaol;
(xvii) I saw some Kuku-Yalanji use at least one of the Managers as a kind of advisor on such matters as finances, marital problems and child discipline troubles;
(xviii) under the by-laws the Manager also was responsible for the hygiene and sanitation of people's houses, and for their conduct and behaviour, including dress.

The Manager's wife also played an important complementary role. I saw wives running the store, doing the books, and in charge of the wireless. They also organized women's church group meetings, cooked for visiting Europeans, took food to elderly or sick Aboriginal residents, made dresses and sewed for older Aboriginal women, helped with newborn Aboriginal babies, and acted generally as confidantes to some Kuku-Yalanji women.

In summary, the Manager was a central person in the functioning of the settlement. In fact, in many ways the Manager was the mission settlement. He controlled most of the communication in and out, controlled transport of goods and people in and out, was the medium through which all visitors had to pass before dealing with Aboriginal residents, and all financial matters were channelled through him. He was an arbitrator or appeal judge in disputes. Very little happened in the settlement without his knowledge or involvement. The role of manager was thus one of great formal and informal power in the mission settlement.

What were the backgrounds and attitudes of the Managers at Bloomfield? Between 1977 and 1980 there were three permanent Managers and several acting Managers. The Managers were all Lutherans of German descent, and all from farming or grazing backgrounds, mostly from southern Queensland. They were practical-minded men with abilities for fixing machinery, carpentry, and general building skills and an interest in the agricultural and cattle pursuits of the mission. They were hardy men used to the bush and they stressed the value of self-sufficiency and individualism. The women emphasised the traditional role of the supportive wife and espoused the virtues of housework, cooking and the family. They all saw themselves as Christians and had obviously been

involved with the church in their home areas. They saw themselves as missionaries at Bloomfield and as being there for a limited term. Some spoke of serving their 'time' there and of eventually returning 'home'.

The attitudes of the various Managers to the Aboriginal residents of the mission were often ones of genuine concern and helping. Yet their actions and comments about people were almost always paternalistic. Occasionally I saw evidence of antagonism towards Aborigines as a group, particularly after trying incidents or if they felt their efforts were taken for granted. Their views on policy were uniformly assimilationist; they saw no other possibility. Below are some remarks from managerial staff which I collected between 1977 and 1980.

> You've got to treat them like children, but the government and the church have been too easy with them handing out everything.

> The trouble with these people is that they want everything both ways. They want to have the good things we give them and they want to live their primitive ways. They've got to learn they have to live under white man's law now, white man's way of life and forget their ways. Compared with Hope Vale . . . these people are about 30 years behind. Still have their primitive way of thinking.

One mission staff person who was Acting Manager told me that most of the mission's problems were because:

> They're [the Aborigines] just too bloody lazy! How can the mission hope to do anything at all with these people! It will always be a relationship of father to son. It'll be a long time before our job is done here.

After a particularly bad day when a manager had had to drive into Cooktown twice - four hours a trip over a rocky bush track - and up most of the night before because of a fight in the settlement, he said to a local European who was an Englishman, "The one mistake you Poms made when you landed here is that you didn't shoot all the blacks."

Staff spoke of getting 'girls' [Aboriginal women] to clean the house, a 'boy' [Aboriginal man] to mow the grass. One manager's wife lamented that "If only we could get some more of our boys working and off social [unemployment benefits]." After some trouble in the settlement the same woman said to me "Our natives are usually so faithful! It's only these outside young fellows causing trouble."

XI.2.4 The Executive Officer.

While the Manager obviously occupied a central position in the mission intervention complex, his was only one side of a two-part management regime. The other side was the role played by the Executive Officer. As I noted previously, the Manager, apart from being responsible formally to the Director of D.A.I.A. and to the mission board, was directly under the close supervision of the executive officer. The Executive Officer in the late 1970s had been in the job for almost a decade. Interestingly, when discussing the Executive Officer, Aborigines would sometimes link his status position and role with his strong personality and physical stature. Below is a partial list of tasks undertaken by him as noted by the minutes of the Board meetings between 1981 and 1982. He:

(i) negotiated the sale of some mission land and looked into the purchase of another block;

(ii) negotiated with government departments to obtain a lease on a small pastoral property for the mission; met with and discussed the cost of improvements with the then owner;

(ii) met with the Shire Council to discuss the issue of land boundaries;

(iii) conferred with the Cook Shire (CYP) Clerk and Lutheran Church solicitors on ways of sub-dividing mission land, and checked with Lands Department about a survey;

(iv) organised funding and accounting for an Aboriginal house building programme;

(v) discussed the issue of new house allocation with the council;

(vi) drew up a new mission budget with the Board Treasurer, then met with Deputy Director, D.A.I.A. to discuss it;

(vii) negotiated an increase in bank float in the post office;

(viii) met with a Lutheran Church administrator for Queensland and Treasurer about a new accounting system;

(ix) oversaw stock-taking of mission goods and assets at end of financial year;
(x) briefed church officials before visits to mission;
(xi) organised shipping of second-hand clothes to mission for Aborigines;
(xii) dealt with tax claims and personal reference requests for resigning mission staff;
(xiii) organised travel arrangements of mission staff;
(xiv) was a member of the management committee of Deedar Hostel, the Lutheran boarding house for Bloomfield children attending secondary school in Brisbane;
(xv) was a member of the Mission Board interviewing committee for all staff selections; he corresponded with potential new staff and was on the committee to set up an orientation course for new staff;
(xvi) contacted the Commonwealth Employment Service in Brisbane and clarified the procedures about Aborigines and unemployment benefit cheques;
(xvii) corresponded with mission staff on various issues;
(xviii) contacted Telecom, the national communications utility, about mission communications;
(xix) was a member of committee looking into the restructuring of the mission administrative system;
(xx) discussed with state government the implications for the mission of new pending legislation that concerned reserve land.

The role of Executive Officer thus involved, on the one hand, high-level administrative duties concerning the mission land, housing, staff management, control of incoming and outgoing goods and people, finance, large-scale purchasing and accounting, and most importantly, acting as a liaison between the mission and all government departments. On the other hand, the Executive Officer was also involved with many of the everyday affairs of the mission. The Manager was in regular radio-telephone contact with him, and he visited the settlement several times a year. On such visits during my fieldwork, the Executive Officer variously visited Bloomfield mothers to inquire about why their children had not returned to school in Brisbane after holidays; he went to discuss legal proceedings with an outside European on behalf of a mission resident; he talked to another mission resident about his attempts to get an old-age pension; he encouraged another man to stand

for a Council election. Also on these trips, the Executive Officer and the Manager would spend hours together talking and going over the mission books.

Partly because of his formal position, partly because of his personality and partly because of his long history of taking charge of most aspects of the mission affairs, Managers at Bloomfield did very little without the involvement of the Executive Officer.

XI.2.5 Mission staff and the lines of authority.

Between 1977 and 1980 at Bloomfield River Mission there were various other European staff, including carpenters, mechanics, nurses and, after 1979, a storekeeper. These were all Lutheran Church people who had 'answered the call' to go to the mission. Some were relatives of Board members and most came from the same areas and had similar backgrounds to the Managers. The staff were paid by the Mission Board and had accommodation at the mission provided. There was some confusion among the staff as to the lines of authority in the mission administration. It was unclear who staff were responsible to and, as they were there as missionaries, not just as technical staff, there was uncertainty about job distinctions. Although employed by the Board, staff were often hired (and sometimes fired) by the Executive Officer. The latter also usually had a say over the content of most staff jobs, yet the Manager was officially supposed to oversee staff work. Staff also had to work within the bounds of the Aborigines Act and its regulations. Lines of authority in the Manager's role were also unclear. It was not clear to anyone exactly who his superiors were. Under the Act, the Manager was responsible directly to the Director of D.A.I.A., he was hired by the Church mission board, yet most of his dealings with both the government and the Church were done through the Executive Officer. Direct communication between the Board and mission staff was difficult and rare.

These confused authority structures inevitably led to factions, gossiping, secret communiques to Brisbane and a situation where a group of eight European mission staff would have two opposing barbeques for themselves on the same evening. Such interpersonal problems along with the incredibly diffuse and wide-ranging nature of the jobs and the problems inherent with them, brought about a high level of stress

for the mission staff. The amount and detail of control exerted from Brisbane was also a constant source of complaint from all staff. It often created delays in implementing plans and projects. The centralization of decision-making and control over finance and staff, the poor communication between the board and staff and the lack of consultation with staff on many significant issues all caused staff dissatisfactions and management problems.[5] Such problems were to also have a significant impact on the Aboriginal residents of the mission as I shall shortly demonstrate.

In contrast to the situation as diagrammed in Figure 27, the informal or actual lines of authority within the mission complex can be shown as in Figure 28.

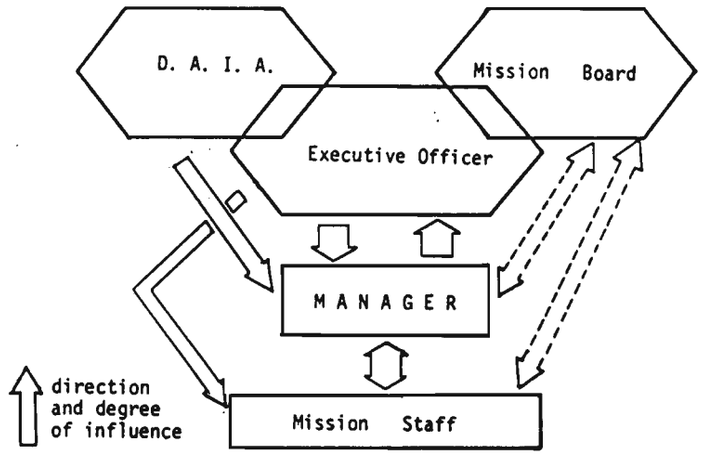

Figure 28 Lines of communication and authority in mission complex.

XI.3 Kuku-Yalanji and the mission intervention complex.

Here I want to describe certain aspects of Kuku-Yalanji interaction with the mission complex. I firstly look at their perception of the mission and its elements, then examine the relationship which the mobs described earlier had with it.

XI.3.1 The mission bosses.

In many ways, the entire mission complex was represented or symbolised for Kuku-Yalanji by the Manager and, to a lesser extent, by the Executive Officer. Given this and their roles as I described them

5. See Kirsch (1979) for a detailed documentation of these problems.

earlier in this chapter, it is not surprising that Kuku-Yalanji considered them to be bosses. 'Boss' was used as a term of reference and of address for both men.[6] Further, the relationship between the two was seen as one whereby the Executive Officer is the 'big boss' or 'boss blo manaja' ['Manager's boss']. This was especially the case in any dealings with the government. In Kuku-Yalanji eyes, the job of the Manager as boss was to run the mission and all aspects of it relating to the European domain, be they financial, mechanical or administrative. His was seen as an absolutely essential role for the mission to function at all. Once in 1978 the non-managerial European staff had already gone on holiday and the Manager, who had been away on leave, had not arrived back yet. The Acting Manager and his wife also had to leave Bloomfield at the same time. This meant that for one or two days there would be no Europeans at the mission (except the nursing sister). General terror swept the settlement. It was all people talked about, saying: "No waybala here! No boss! Who will give out cheques and money? No one to run store!" The settlement breathed a collective sigh of relief when the Manager arrived back earlier than planned. On another occasion, a Manager joked with some older Kuku-Yalanji women about going fishing, saying that everyone would be alright for a few days without him. One woman, almost affronted, said to him: "You can't go! You got to look after us. You're the boss!" The Manager's role as boss and the reciprocal role of Kuku-Yalanji as mission residents were seen as normal and natural. People knew how to interact with a boss and felt comfortable in dealing with the Manager in this way. To a lesser extent, the boss role and relationship applied to dealings with other Europeans at the mission too.

The views or actions of the Manager as boss were also sometimes used as excuses for people's behaviour. One example I observed was when a young man was driving the mission truck into Cooktown and some of his relatives also wanted to go. The man did not want people coming with him as he knew he might be held responsible for their behaviour in town. Normally, he would be unable to deny them such a request. When they asked him if they could go, he said to them that they would "have to ask boss" (meaning the Manager), knowing that this would deter them

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6. The wife of one Manager was also called 'Mum' or 'Nanny', especially by older Kuku-Yalanji women.

or else that the Manager would say no. The boss's ability to be able to refuse people was thus a useful device in Kuku-Yalanji social interaction.[7]. The Manager could also be blamed if anything went wrong as a result of a decision made on appeal to him.

With all mission Europeans, it was not only the formally defined positions which were important. Their known quality was also important to Kuku-Yalanji. The boss and the mission provided, in the same way that the European bosses and camps earlier in the century did, protection, mediation and a buffer against the outside world. At a simple relational level, there was still a great fear and wonder about strange Europeans at Bloomfield. I was in the bush several times with Kuku-Yalanji families when such people suddenly appeared (for example, electricity linesmen). The Aboriginal people in each case reacted in the same way which Hann observed in 1872 (Hann 1873:758). The young people scattered and hid and the old people sat still as though they were invisible (see also Hershberger & Hershberger MS n.d.). The mission was seen as a place of safe, known Europeans and the missionaries, as intermediaries for all dealings with unknown ones.

The mission also encouraged this view. They strongly promoted an exclusive relationship between the settlement as a whole and the Manager and Executive Officer. Their view was that mission residents should not deal with the outside world (whether locally or by mail in Cairns or Brisbane) through anyone but the mission. This made the missionaries' administrative tasks easier, and it protected the Aborigines against exploitation and non-Christian influence. It also tended to keep the money which was paid out by the mission as wages or as social security benefits within the mission economy. The mission also discouraged people from patronizing the other two small general stores in the valley. In another case, after repeated attempts to get the board (through the executive officer) to obtain more land for the mission, a prominent Kuku-Yalanji man (then resident at Hope Vale) sent a letter directly to the state Premier asking his assistance. He was reprimanded by the Board for not using the 'right channels'. His response was that

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7. A related concept is people saying they are "under doctor" and therefore unable to chop wood for someone or carry something. I have heard people deny a request for work or help by saying "Flying doctor my boss. I belonga tablet."

his actions were analogous to the muddy storm waters on the Bloomfield-Cooktown road which had to flow over the road as the drainage pipes underneath were clogged up. He was merely going to 'the biggest boss'.

Kuku-Yalanji perception of the state-mission intervention complex was thus primarily of it as a series of bosses, hierarchically arranged, with the government representatives such as the Director of D.A.I.A. and the Premier at the top, the board's Executive Officer as the intermediate one and the Manager as the local, and most immediately important boss. Most of Kuku-Yalanji interaction with the intervention complex, and thereby with the rest of the European world, was defined by these boss relationships.

XI.3.2 Mobs and the Bloomfield Council.

What role did mobs play in the interaction between Kuku-Yalanji and the mission complex? One of the best areas where this could be seen was that of the settlement Council. In this section I want to look at the Council as a context for the interplay between, on the one hand, mobs and their bosses and focal individuals and, on the other, the mission complex and its bosses.

As I mentioned in XI.2.2, Bloomfield River Mission had, in common with all Aboriginal reserve settlements in Queensland, an elected Council. According to the Aborigines Act, the Council was broadly responsible "for the conduct, discipline and well-being of Aborigines residing within the Reserve . . ." (Regulations, Section 19). It could make by-laws to achieve this goal, although these had to be approved by the state Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and, to my knowledge, the same set of by-laws is used for all settlements (see Grassby 1977). The Act also stated that the Council "shall have and may exercise the functions of local government of the Reserve." These functions included provision and maintenance of roads, bridges, enforcement of health and sanitation requirements, etc. Chapter Two of the by-laws set out rules for Council meetings and procedure including majority voting, necessity for a quorum, agenda and minutes, etc.

There was always a considerable degree of confusion amongst mission residents and European staff over the role of the Council. In theory, having local government-type powers, the Council should have been able to make independent decisions concerning most aspects of settlement

affairs. Yet, the settlement in general and Councillors themselves saw their role as being under the Manager. As one Kuku-Yalanji man said: "That Manager, he's a proper boss. He's high above the Council." This view had official substance as well. The Manager was mentioned as the ultimate authority in 29 out of 49 (60%) of the by-laws. An investigative report done in 1978 by two mission board members, a Lutheran Church Council member and an Aboriginal church field officer, noted several comments from mission residents confirming this subordinate role of the Council:

> In the eyes of some, the Council is a puppet in the hands of the management, which has final say. What's the use of the Council? The Manager and the Board can veto it anyway! (Renner et al. 1978: 76).
>
> The Council is a puppet of the government. No matter who is elected, the Council has to carry out government policy rather than the will of the people (p. 77).
>
> There is confusion respecting authority. The Council has the appearance of authority; but Bama ['Aboriginal people'] believe that the Manager and/or the Executive Officer have the real say (p. 77).

The report concluded that there was "no doubt that [the Councillors] believe someone is their 'boss'" and "that in the long run they have little more than a token say in the administration of their affairs" (Renner et al. 1978:79).

Apart from the structural situation of the Council being subordinate to the European administration, several other factors worked against meaningful Council participation in decision-making. One of these was the way in which Council meetings were held. I was present at three Council meetings (and knew others to be similar). In each, the Manager or Acting Manager was present and, in fact, chaired the meetings. Almost all discussion was in English. There was generally a formal written agenda (when at one stage, only two Councillors could read), and adoption of standard European meeting procedures with motions, seconders, etc. Most Councillors said nothing at the meetings

and at one, the Manager lectured for ninety minutes. Part of this situation was due to the legislation governing Council operations. But mostly, for both Managers and Aborigines, it was all part of the boss role so integral to this intervention complex and to the way Kuku-Yalanji expected bosses to operate.

Decision-making processes in Council meetings presented another problem. I often heard people complain that a point which was raised for the first time at a meeting (usually by the Manager) required an immediate decision, and it then had to be communicated to Brisbane all in the same day. (In the public meetings which were occasionally held there was also conflict between staff and mission residents about meeting procedure, styles of discourse, etc. See Plate XX). Another problem was the composition of the Council. The Act specified that the Council have five members only. This ensured that all groups in the community could not be represented on the Council. I will return to this point in a moment. Also, persons were often elected to the Council only because they had been to European schools, were literate and used to dealing with European official matters. This normally meant that some Council members (and in one case, the chairperson) were young, sometimes female, and thus without any real political standing in the settlement. This situation partly reflected Kuku-Yalanji notions of the functions of the Council.

Procedures for meetings, decision-making processes and the composition of the Council all created difficulties for it having an effective role in the settlement's affairs. This combined with their subordinate position overall in the administrative hierarchy and Kuku-Yalanji perception of the appropriateness of European behaviour in this sphere, secured the Council a minimal role in most significant matters.

However, this did not mean that the Council had no powers or that it was insignificant to Kuku-Yalanji politics. Resolutions were passed by the Council which could potentially have a real effect on Aboriginal life at the mission. Ones I recorded included:
(i) getting older men to transfer to social security benefits and deciding to put younger men to work on mission jobs in place of them;
(ii) barring particular individuals from buying methylated spirits at the store for their lanterns (the fear was that they would drink it);
(iii) discussing a 'crooked' liaison between a young man and woman which was becoming permanent;

Plate XX Mission staff examine concrete mixer during community meeting, Bloomfield River Mission, 1979.

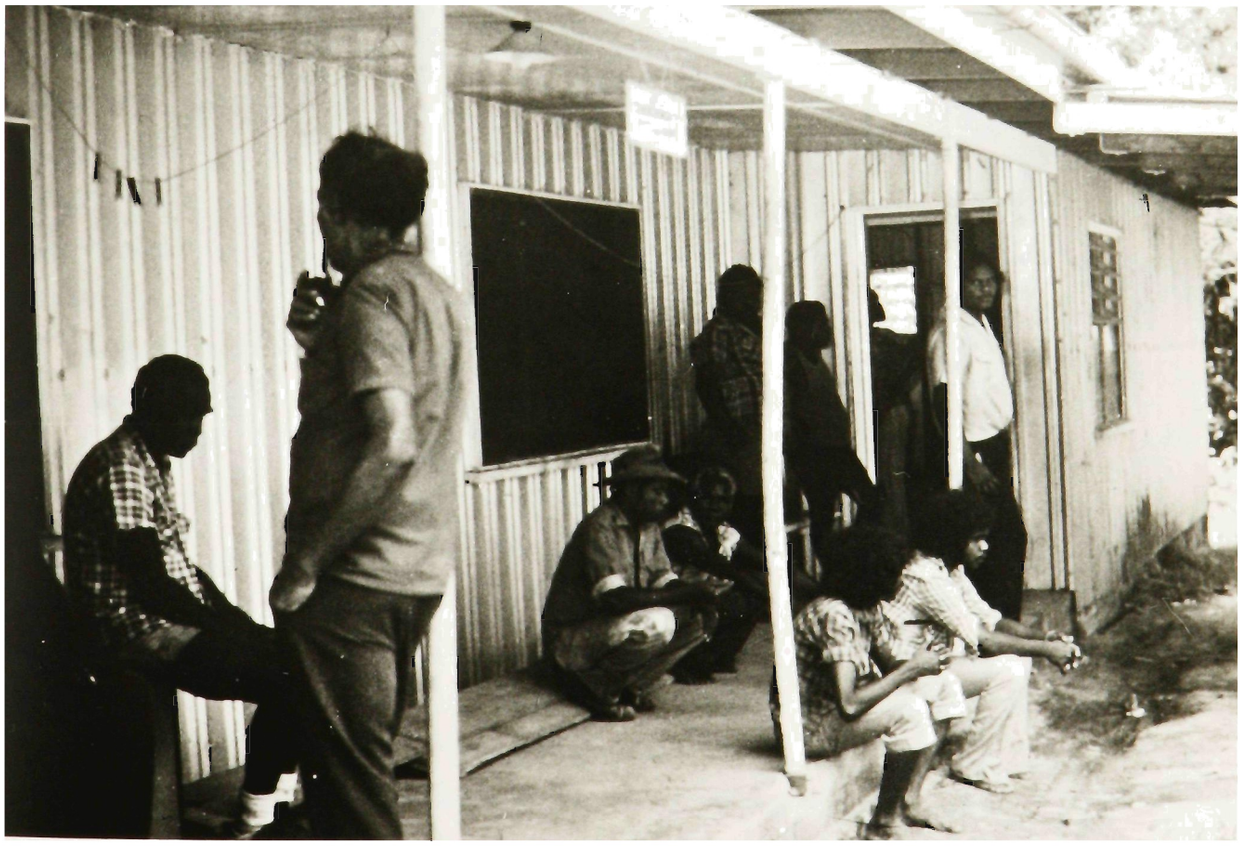

Plate XXI Workers at the mission wait for pay at manager's house and office, 1979.

(iv) deciding that a particular individual visiting the mission had to leave;
(v) deciding whether a team of Education Department field officers could visit the mission;
(vi) it was decided that all young people living together out of wedlock had to get married;
(vii) allocating new houses;
(viii) deciding not to have a beer canteen on the mission.

In many cases, resolutions made by the Council were never enforced. A report of the Mission Board complained that council "decisions are made and certain Bama take no notice of them . . ." (Board sub-committee report 11/1979). The Council almost never acted as a body in order to enforce its decisions. More often than not, council resolutions merely made public a certain viewpoint which people then took sides on, often according to criteria unrelated directly to the issue.

Despite its ineffectiveness in some areas, the Aboriginal Council was a major setting for individual and mob competition for prestige and influence. Councillors were often viewed by Kuku-Yalanji as bosses in their own right by virtue of their position. This stemmed partly from the standing accorded the position by mission staff and other Europeans, demonstrated, for example, by the meetings which the councillors had with European bosses. Councillors also got to go on free plane trips to southern cities with accommodation provided when they attended meetings with government officials and councillors from other settlements. They also got paid a small honorarium for their services. There were great advantages for a mob if one or more of its members established a position of power on the council.

Kuku-Yalanji considered that one of the primary functions of the Councillors was as liaison persons with the European bosses. The Council members were also seen as being in charge of mission equipment, particularly vehicles. If people wanted to go out in the mission truck, to get firewood for example, they usually asked a Councillor. The latter invariably asked the Manager. In one case, a relative of a Councillor had asked him to organize the truck for the day. When it eventuated that they could not take the truck because it was needed for mission work, the relative walked away disgruntled and said "What's the use of you being Councillor if I can't get the truck!" Another role of Councillors was as dispute arbitrators. They were often called out in

the night to 'back up', both verbally and physically, the actions of the settlement policemen. They also often acted in conjunction with the Manager in this capacity.

Of course not all Councillors were equal. In a formal sense, the Council had a Chairman and Deputy Chairman; they were the two persons gaining the most votes in the elections. The position of Chairman was accorded considerable prestige by mission residents. He or she was the person to whom many official letters and telegrams were sent (at least in name), and whom visitors came and saw about staying in the settlement. Above and beyond being in such a position, other things made a great deal of difference in whether or not a Councillor was a 'real' boss. These were primarily tied up with group status and influence, but also with individual qualities. I will deal with the latter first.

As I noted before, some individuals were elected to the Council because of their English speech and literacy skills. Since 1977, the persons on the Council for such reasons were all young women. Their position meant little difference in their everyday lives at the mission. They appeared to have had no greater influence or prestige because of their position. Kuku-Yalanji saw their skills as merely necessary for the way the Council worked. As one man said: "To do that <u>waybala</u> business, you gotta belong'a that big word. Lucky we got those young girls." Certain other individual traits were important if a person was to have a significant voice on the Council. These traits are ones we have seen before and included physical size, age, traditional knowledge, willingness to speak one's mind in front of other Kuku-Yalanji and Europeans, ability to articulate others' views, descent from a significant ancestor and an estate affiliation relevant to the mission's affairs. One man who combined most of these qualities was on the Council since its inception in the early 1970s. In fact, he was often called 'Councillor' or 'Council' by other mission residents. Another Kuku-Yalanji man also had all of the traits except one: although he had lived at Bloomfield since the 1950s, his real country was in the Annan River area. Nevertheless, he was chairman of the Bloomfield Council for a number of years. Whenever things did not go his way on the Council, he blamed his territorial origins. He once remarked to me "Other <u>Bama</u> say to me: 'We don't have to listen to you. You not really from here. You from long way away'."

It is difficult to discuss individual status, prestige and influence without looking at the role of group membership. This latter was probably the more important determinant of whether or not an individual had any real say in the Council. It is with the Council that we can see the continued importance of the mobs as political units in mission life. Differential mob control of the Council resulted in significant inequalities between mobs. The use of the Council to promote and further mob interests was well-recognised by the missionaries. In their 1978 report they noted:

> Favouritism and injustice by the Council is widely alleged.
>
> Conflict exists among Councillors who are committed to kinship loyalties.
>
> Aborigines in power too often become over-hungry (Renner et al. 1978:78).[8]

Other reports give similar comments:

> Too much favouritism is shown by the Council according to the clan or clans who are represented on the Council (Stolz 1979).
>
> Certain voices in the community are never heard. On clearly analyzing actual elected Council membership, it was clearly

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8. The mission was certainly aware of individual and group competition. However, they believed that it was a recent Kuku-Yalanji development. The minutes of one board meeting note: "One-up-manship [at the mission] is proving destructive. Co-operation was an outstanding characteristic in Aborigine [sic] society. Now they are caught in the milieu of fierce inter-personal competition, aggression and dominance." (Minutes of meeting of the Hope Vale - Wujalwujal Mission Board, Brisbane, 23 March 1982. Copy in possession of author). My argument is that these latter traits were always true of Kuku-Yalanji politics. The centralized setting of the mission allowed it to be a constant feature of life.

> evident that only two or three family groups made up the Council; the majority of kin-groupings had no direct voice in the Council; criticism of Council rules was loud; breaking of the law was a protest - a 'pay back' to the dominating (domineering) forces in the community (Mission Board sub-committee report, November 1979).

At least for the duration of my work (and this was still the case in 1982), Mob A dominated the Council entirely. During this time it had two of its focal males and another younger mob member on the Council. The former two men alternated the Chairmanship. There was one attempt to depose this mob, when in 1980 Mobs B and E had several members elected to the Council. Two persons from Mob E were elected, one of them as Chairman, and two from Mob B. This Council lasted less than a year. One man was sacked, another left the area because of a dispute his son had with Mob A, and the Chairman resigned and also left the area after widespread mission resident criticism. Two persons from Mob A, including a former Chairman, then took over the Council at the request of the Manager. People from some of the other mobs who have been on the Council at various times have all been literate young women. Mobs C, D, F, G and H were rarely represented on the Council during the period of my work. When they were, it was merely so that they could keep their mob informed as to what was being discussed and decided. While having a formal vote, they acted in meetings almost as outside observers and rarely raised matters of importance.

The advantages in dominating the Council were considerable for a mob. One of the main ones was in the matter of housing at the mission. Between 1978 and 1980, a house building programme was begun which provided nine new houses for mission residents. A move from the old houses meant a significant improvement in material standard of living. The old two-room houses had an average of almost six people per house. They were rudimentary, cramped, cold in winter and hot in summer, and in some cases vermin-infested (see Anderson 1982:103-108). The new houses were standard European suburban houses with three bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, etc. Not surprisingly, families in Mob A obtained the first six of the new houses. Even by 1982, the major households in Mobs C, D and F were still in the old houses.

Control of the Council also meant ensuring employment for mob members on the mission work force. Employment records show that Mob A (along with Mob B) had the most workers on the work force and the most regular workers (see Anderson 1982:144-145).[9] With a limit of 23-25 workers on the mission force, decisions often had to be made about who was put in to jobs. Council discussions played a significant role here. Control of information and communications was another advantage which came with Council domination. Members of predominating mobs always knew much more about what was happening in the settlement with respect to official matters and events. Rumours and mis-information were constantly circulating in the mission among Kuku-Yalanji about management and Council discussions and decisions. To know the truth was to gain prestige and influence. At a more mundane, but important, level, because the Council was responsible for settlement hygiene and appearance, people unrepresented often suffered the indignity of having Council (and therefore public) discussion about how "dirty" their houses or yards were. This meant negative prestige in the eyes of Kuku-Yalanji generally. It also allowed dominant mob members to run down other mobs to mission staff with respect to matters which were seen as very important to Europeans.

Because of the advantages which stem from its domination, the Council was thus an arena for mob competition and one in which both individual and group status were involved. The Council composition at Bloomfield always reflected the absolute position of power, prestige and influence of Mob A and of particular individuals in it.

XI.3.3 Other domains of interaction.

Apart from the Council, other aspects of mission life and the mission complex were grist for the mill of mob delineation and competition.

Ownership of material goods and consumer items was one such area. As I described in X.5.1, purchase and nominal ownership of items was usually an individual matter, and individuals could gain prestige from

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9. Of course, this also relates to these mobs keeping better control over their young people.

this. Items involved here included large radio-cassette players, guitars and amplifiers, refrigerators, outboard motors and boats, and from 1979, televisions and video machines. I sometimes saw within a single household several of the same expensive cassette players, for example, each 'bossed' by a different person. Ultimately, however, all mob members were able to use any of these items and the group as a whole gained prestige from them. Prestige was also gained by lending these items occasionally to certain people in other mobs. The same was true of a good hunting or guard dog. The notion of personal property was certainly evident, but it was mob boundaries which determined usage patterns generally, and more or less equal prestige accrued to individuals and their mobs because of ownership.

Lifestyle or relative standard of living was also a measure of mob prestige. Prestige was gained by a family having meat at most meals, both store bought and from bush sources. In fact, having three regular, large meals with a varied menu, not only meant that your family had plenty of money, access to the bush and good mob connections, it also meant a maintenance of authority over young men's and women's labour, because it was these persons who often contributed most to these. The wearing of appropriate clothes for certain occasions also demonstrated a mob's standing. Whole outfits including new jeans, cowboy shirts and boots were purchased for settlement events such as concerts or for trips to town. The financial outlay for this for a large family was considerable. Ability to do this was important, as it reflected a mob's style and status. Individual households also organised elaborate and expensive birthday parties for certain individuals, both adult and child. Most mob members attended these or else plates of food were sent to them. Women usually spent a whole day or more making preparations and cooking many cakes and making dozens of sandwiches. Several cases of soft drink and other store goodies were also purchased for the party. A mob would strain itself financially in order to outdo another at these celebrations. Even more money was spent on weddings for the same reason.

Funerals were another area in which I observed mob competition. Number of people attending the service and burial, number of people from elsewhere in SECYP attending the funeral, amount of wailing and other mourning actions, and the size and duration of the feast and corroboree afterwards were all measures of individual and mob prestige. The

disparity in this area could be great and was stark witness to differential mob status. On two occasions in 1982 when members of Mob A died, the funerals were enormous and virtually the whole of the settlement attended or were affected by the funerals and related ceremonies. On the other hand, when a member of Mob C died, only a handful of people attended the funeral and participation in a corroboree could not be mustered afterwards. After unsuccessfully attempting to organize the latter, a focal male of Mob C shouted angrily to the settlement at large: "When you mobs have funerals we come, but when we have one, no one comes!" He then made threats that with the next funeral of someone from any other mob, none of Mob C would come. Partly this demonstrated mob competition, but it also revealed the dependency relationships which some mobs had with others.

In disputes between mobs, aspects of the European presence or the mission complex were used as part of the 'weaponry' in mob competition. In one case, a shooting occurred which resulted in the death of a young man. The victim and defendant were from different mobs.[10] When the Legal Aid officers came from Cairns to investigate the case on behalf of the defense, a prominent and powerful member of the victim's mob sent word around that no one should co-operate as this would only help the defendant to get off. In his and his mob's eyes, the latter was already known to be guilty and there was no notion of him deserving a fair trial. The person stated that it was alright to talk to the 'demons', or police detectives working on the Crown prosecution case. "They on our side, our mob. That dead-fella side." This person's demands were, as far as I could tell, acceded to - and not just by his own mob members. Some close relatives of the defendant, in fact, were forced to flee the mission under physical and sorcery-related threats.

This case relates to the larger issue of the use of individual Europeans by mobs for political purposes. All Europeans, whether from

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10. This case was a good example where mob membership overrode kinship ties. The two individuals were actual cross-cousins and people were thus surprised that such close relations could have a fight ending in such a tragic result. Nevertheless, this did nothing to prevent the two mobs being at serious odds over the issue. However, the outcome probably would have been much worse with respect to mob antagonism had the two people involved not been close kin.

within the state-mission complex or from any of the other complexes, were seen as potentially useful in this way. And the more powerful the European or the more resources he or she had access to, the more potentially useful they became. Generally the process was initiated by a prominent person in a mob establishing a personal relationship with a particular European. This then was gradually moved in the direction of an attempt to assimilate this person into the mob. This meant that the European had or was supposed to have (as he or she may not even have realized what was happening) an exclusive relationship with that mob. They were supposed to accede to most, if not all requests from mob members and to provide access for them to any resources they may have had. Generally, too, the relationship had to be exclusive not merely in such positive ways, but also in the negative sense of the European not having much to do with other mobs, and especially not giving them access to resources. The setting up of such relations was not only to gain access to things such as motorcars and favours, but also to gain the prestige which comes from a mob having its 'own waybala'.

New mission staff were especially subjected to this assimilation process. They were invited out on hunting, camping or fishing trips or out just 'to show them country'. They were sometimes invited to particular households for visits. If they were receptive, there were also attempts to teach them the Kuku-Yalanji language and aspects of the culture. I observed this with a number of staff, including carpenters, storekeepers and managers and their families. Once this process had begun, staff were often unaware of the expectations mobs had of them, nor even usually of the existence of social entities beyond the family. This often led to disappointment on the part of the Aborigines about the European's behaviour (following, for example, a refusal to drive mob members somewhere), and then to 'snubs', and further misunderstandings. The assumption of the mission staff that they were there for the benefit of the whole 'community' and could not show what they or the Board might see as favouritism was in direct conflict with Aboriginal perceptions of the situation.

Other Europeans at Bloomfield were also involved to varying degrees with Kuku-Yalanji mobs in this boss-like relationships. Several mobs shopped almost exclusively at one of the two other stores in the valley. This was partly because of the dominance of the mission by one mob, and thus their association with all aspects of it including the mission

store. However, it was also because these mobs had established particular relationships with some of the Europeans who ran the other shops. Visiting politicians, especially sitting Members for the local electorates, were also subjected to incorporation attempts. In addition, European researchers such as anthropologists and linguists working at Bloomfield found it impossible not to become closely identified with particular individuals and their mobs because of this phenomenon (cf. Sutton 1978:XV).

XI.4 The state-mission complex and changes in Kuku-Yalanji society.

This chapter and the previous one have consisted of a case study of the Bloomfield River Mission as a Kuku-Yalanji settlement in the late 1970s. In this case study I have examined the forms of social and economic organization in the settlement and described the nature of the intervention complex which defined and dominated Aboriginal life in SECYP during this period. However, my major purpose in this case is to look at the interaction between the Aboriginal mode of production in the area and certain European structures. Specifically I want to define the nature of the articulation exemplified by this case and examine the similarities and differences between this case and the previous ones. In order to do this I need firstly to look at some of the changes which the state-mission intervention complex has brought about in the Kuku-Yalanji socio-cultural system. I look at three things here: firstly, changes in the environmental and economic forces in Kuku-Yalanji life; secondly, changes in the social relations of production; and finally, certain aspects of the mission complex (some unique and others similar to those of the first Bloomfield mission intervention) which were defining features and significant ones for change. In the final section of the chapter I will attempt a summary characterisation of the articulation patterns demonstrated by this final case study.

XI.4.1 Changes in economic and political conditions and relationships.

One major area of change for Kuku-Yalanji during the 1970s was in the environmental and economic sphere. Change here was towards a lessening dependence on bush resource production and towards an increasing involvement in the cash sector.

There were a number of reasons for declining Kuku-Yalanji use of the bush at Bloomfield. Some of them concerned intervention by Europeans other than those associated with the mission. Between 1976 and 1982 the number of Europeans permanently living in the Bloomfield area almost doubled. These were mostly people within the counter-culture complex described earlier. As I noted there, their major impact was to block Kuku-Yalanji access to previously used bush resource areas. Later interventions by others probably had a more permanent effect. Commercial fishermen had illegally netted the creeks and the river at Bloomfield to the extent that by the end of the three years of my main field work, the take of fish by Kuku-Yalanji was reduced to very few and very small fish only. Some species, such as barramundi, disappeared altogether. The clearing of lowland rain forest and fencing for land speculation and for grazing purposes also destroyed hunting and camping areas (for example, Twelve-Mile Scrub near the old Wyalla property). Another new complex which had a significant impact was tourism. The rise in popularity of the use of four-wheel drive vehicles for recreational purposes brought an enormous increase in the number of Europeans passing through and visiting the area. During a 1982 field trip, an average of three vehicles a day over a three-week period came onto the reserve. Some even camped there without consulting with the Council. In 1977 for a four month period at the same time of year, I saw less than six such groups of visitors. This increase in use of bush tracks meant a greater disturbance of the environment generally. It also put greater pressure on bush resources, as the European tourists also often fished and hunted. The best camping places were often taken up by them, and their very presence in the general area restricted Kuku-Yalanji movement. One Kuku-Yalanji man commented dejectedly: "Too many mudaka ['motorcar']. Too many waybala ['Europeans']. Too much change!"

Other reasons for a reduced bush resource dependence were internal to mission life. There was a decline in the willingness or desire to go into the bush on the part of many people - especially the young - because of the diversions offered by other activities. Gambling had become almost a full-time occupation amongst many Kuku-Yalanji. Television also exerted a strong pull. Once in 1978, the group of people I was with had to return early from a weekend bushtrip because of the pressure brought to bear by the young people in the group about seeing 'Countdown', the ABC's pop music television show. Other people

were unable to get out in the bush much due to their jobs and a preference for working for cash rather than for spending time hunting or fishing (see below and see Plate XXI). Both higher wages and the range and variety of food available in the new mission store after 1978 were also factors in reducing the use of the bush. Having little cash and the limited range of store-bought foods available before this were great incentives for people to hunt, gather and fish. Finally, as Kuku-Yalanji life became more and more focused on and restricted to the mission itself, there was a corresponding diminution of knowledge concerning the locations, the tools and techniques necessary for bush production.

On the other side, there were strong reasons for an increasing involvement of Kuku-Yalanji in the cash economy of the mission. With the introduction of television and with the strong encouragement of the mission, Kuku-Yalanji became avid consumers of European goods and appliances. (This was not just buying for utilitarian purposes. Things were often bought simply for their prestige value. For example, in one case an older couple bought a car when neither of them had the slightest notion of how to drive. The car was kept stored in a garage). The mission store often stocked items such as washing machines, clothes driers, lawn mowers, chain saws, etc. The desire to buy such items and the need for cash to pay for expenses associated with the new mission houses (electricity bills, higher rent, more furniture) were powerful inducements for a further commitment to the cash sphere. A growing use of automobiles and four-wheel drive trucks instead of boats for transport also increased capital and running cost needs. The reduction in access to and availability of bush foods for the reasons described above in turn also caused a greater dependence on store-bought food. The increased wages and the easier access to social security benefits also meant that Kuku-Yalanji had more money than ever before. The general feeling was that this money was for immediate spending, and not for saving - unless there was a specific goal for purchase, e.g. a boat or truck.

A second major area of change was within Kuku-Yalanji social relations of production. This involved, firstly, changes in the relationships between men and women and between the old and the young and, secondly, changes in the nature of mobs, the fundamental units of Kuku-Yalanji society.

The changes in male-female and old-young relations were partly the result of the continuing effects of the original camp-boss relationship - articulation phase two - as described in Chapter IX (reduced control of marriage by old men, usurping of their authority by Europeans, etc.). However, they were also the result of the nature of life in the mission. The status of Kuku-Yalanji women was considerably raised by some aspects of their involvement with the mission complex. They became the persons within most households who had the most steady income (through family allowance). This was of great importance, given my earlier discussion about people not wanting to depend overly on wage labour and its restrictions. With the increasing dependence on store goods, women were also here put into a position of some power. They controlled almost all purchasing. They did all the shopping, made the decisions on what to buy and how much to spend. It was mostly the women, in the households I was familiar with, who also actually held and controlled all of the money (wage packets, social security cheques, etc.) for a given week. In the area of bush production too, women's role probably remained as important, while men's declined considerably. Some of the economic activities from which males derived high prestige (hunting pig, cassowary, and turtle and spear-fishing) were drastically reduced for the environmental and socio-economic reasons discussed above. The control of cash by women and the reduced importance of men's bush production meant that in many households the men made virtually no economic contribution.

Changes in other areas also helped to alter women's status. Gambling in many ways had taken the place of ceremonial life for Kuku-Yalanji. The term for gambling, wuri, was also the word meaning to undertake ritual or ceremonial activities. The semi-secret context in which gambling was done reinforced this.[11] Women's equal enthusiasm for and common participation in gambling activities diminished the notion that women were of lower status because of their exclusion from important domains. A decline in the perceived relevance of men's secret knowledge also brought about an equalising of relations. Finally I think that the influence of television and the spread of European

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11. Even the form and appearance of the gambling sites strongly resembled the so-called bora-ring ceremonial sites found elsewhere (see Anderson and Robins, forthcoming).

notions of women's equality generally also had an effect.

The situation of diminishing authority of the old over the young which began much earlier this century continued with the new mission. Adults and older people constantly complained about the young's unwillingness to listen to them on any matter and their inability to get them to do anything. Old people would often put this down to the lack of any physical sanctions open to them when young people flouted their authority. As one man remarked:

> Before, young people never make'a trouble. He get speared quick. Hit him with a woomera. Make him know next time. But this time [now], those young people . . . causin' too much trouble . . . fight, fight all the time. [If] them bingabinga ['old people'] from before been here . . . he never forget. Them fella then take the right law, but today . . . take different way.

The fact was that while most adults, including the focal individuals in mobs, did not usually attempt to use physical means to enforce their will with young people, the few Kuku-Yalanji bosses remaining at Bloomfield could and did sometimes either themselves or through other young men, physically sanction behaviour. Their ability to do so with impunity was restrained somewhat by mob boundaries.

An important factor here was not so much the decline of authority of the older generations so much as the new avenues to prestige and influence open to the young. Some jobs on the mission were only open to the educated and to those well-versed in European official matters. These were invariably the young. These jobs usually paid as well as those held by adult men and often carried more prestige. There were also areas of knowledge necessary for domestic life over which young people had exclusive control. Examples of this included the filling out of official forms or ordering things by mail from Cairns, correspondence to relatives living elsewhere, the operation of televisions, electric stoves, and automobiles. Skills in spoken English were also relevant here. The knowledge which older people had was seen by the young to have less and less relevance. The latter sometimes laughed when traditional songs or dances were performed or when stories were told. As a consequence old people often made little or no attempt to impart their

knowledge. The reduction in access to the bush (which was seen as the most appropriate context for such imparting exacerbated this tendency. As Billy Mapoon complained:

> That Aboriginal law, Ngujakura. Might be right law or might be wrong . . . I don't know. I think myself, he right some of that. Well, today, come to waybul way. Eat anything. Forget about now. Same as for kuku ['language']. Some young people want to talk English all the time. He forget about that kuku. That story . . . no one'll tell him. Or you might be tell'em now, he don't believe. He go for waybul way. Forget for our own story.

Once again the role of the European media, particularly films (which were shown regularly at the mission), aided in bringing about changes in the relationship between young and old. The generation gap notion and the idea of the rebellious teenager both influenced the behaviour and attitudes of Kuku-Yalanji young. Changes in the Kuku-Yalanji language and an apparent increase in the use of English by the young were also involved (see Patz 1982:11-12).

As noted earlier, there was a relationship between the strength and status of a mob and its ability to maintain control over its young. Authority over the young was non-existent in the weak and smaller mobs, whereas in the stronger ones - and especially in mob A - powerful older individuals were still able to command a high degree of respect and compliance.

The second area of change in Kuku-Yalanji relations of production concerns the nature of mobs and their internal workings. There was a fundamental and very important difference between the earlier Kuku-Yalanji camps and the mission in the late 1970s: for the first time ever in SECYP, all Kuku-Yalanji mobs lived in the same centralized settlement. This brought about its own special tensions and conflicts. At the same time, there were pressures from various sources that worked to break down the mobs as separate units. There was a great emphasis put by the mission on the household as an independent entity. The missionaries stressed the value of saving money instead of giving it to relatives in other households. (This was seen as 'sponging', especially if the latter were not working at formal jobs). One missionary

commented to me that "Nothing will go right for them until they get rid of this mob mentality!" It was not only the family which was emphasised. There was also a great stress placed on individualism and on the notion of individual responsibility and guilt. This was partly because this was a prevailing notion in European society generally, but it also stemmed from fundamental tenets of the Lutheran Church. The dormitory during Hartwig-time, the primary school at Bloomfield and boarding together for secondary school in Brisbane all also played a role in forging ties between young people which cross-cut the traditionally exclusive mobs. Decreasing opportunities to get into the bush where mobs were able to get away from the centralized mission and to set up independent camps also had an effect on mob solidarity. Separate bush camps at particular locations, however temporary, had always been an important assertion and reinforcement of mob identity.

As I mentioned above, the forces which decreased the recognition of the authority of older people ultimately also weakened mob structure. This loss of respect and the fact that much relevant and important knowledge about the world (and thus power in relation to it) was no longer in their hands meant that bingabinga ability to act as mob focal points was severely curtailed. Avenues to prestige and influence (achieved status) were different in the mission and had little to do with the structural dominance or its underpinings as with Ngujakura.

To a large extent mob A did not suffer as much as the other mobs in the effects of the above forces for change. Because of its political dominance, mob A was largely able to maintain its coherence and its identity as a macrodomestic unit. Its success in 1981, at obtaining, through the Aboriginal Development Commission, its own land near Dikarr and outside of the mission reserve, further reinforced its position. Similarly, the group - partly because of its structural position and partly because of historical and demographic accident - also successfully resisted the decline of authority of its older, focal members over the young. The young people of this mob were able to secure access to many of the new avenues to achieved status in the mission, and yet were still largely under the control of the older people in a way that did not occur with the other mobs. One important factor in all of this was, as with the previous case studies, the relationship between the maja and focal individuals of mob A and the European missionaries. Here we need to come back to the notion of boss.

XI.4.2 Missionaries as bosses again.

Although there was constant Kuku-Yalanji pressure to make them so (and structurally they were sometimes able to fulfil the role), by and large the mission staff were not able to be good bosses, in the sense of the Europeans described in Part 3. There were a number of reasons for this.

(i) there were too many Europeans at the mission;

(ii) the authority relations between the Europeans themselves was so confused - from the perspective of both Kuku-Yalanji and the missionaries themselves - that the more or less unequivocal authority of the bosses of old was impossible in the mission;

(iii) the mission staff had diffuse relations with mission residents. To my knowledge, no staff person had the exclusive relationship with a mob of the sort required of a real boss;

(iv) there was little or no continuity of particular Europeans. The average stay was only two to three years;

(v) there was no knowledge of the Kuku-Yalanji socio-cultural system, nor had any staff member since Hartwig made a serious attempt to learn the language;

(vi) staff members rarely gained any real knowledge of the country around them. They knew little of its history, had little to do with long-term European residents and were invariably committed to leave Bloomfield eventually;

(vii) mission staff in the late 1970s had much more access to the wider world than Europeans previously in SECYP. Television, radio-telephone, newspapers, regular mail, more visiting Europeans and frequent trips to town all made this possible. Therefore they were more outward-oriented and not locally focused in any way.

(viii) the autocratic manner of the bosses of old and their way of dealing with Aborigines were no longer fashionable nor acceptable administrative means open to European staff.[12] Ironically, it was just this approach - one which, in a sense, was also often a more committed one - that Kuku-Yalanji expected and preferred instead of the new, more bureaucratic and 'nine-to-five' style.

The result of all these factors was that there was a constant tension

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12. It was partly for this reason that Hartwig was virtually sacked.

between what Kuku-Yalanji expected of Europeans and the way the latter were.

Yet as we would expect, there were significant differences in the relationship which the mission Managers had with the main older people in mob A, and particularly with B.Y. With the latter centrally involved in the settlement Council for many years, managers always relied on B.Y. to act as their link to the Council; he was also often consulted on community matters about which the Manager had to make a decision. For his part, B.Y. often spoke to me of his close ties with the Managers and how they would 'do anything' for him. By the end of my main period of fieldwork and on several short trips to Bloomfield in 1980 and 1982, it became apparent to me how well B.Y. was getting on with the Manager who had been there since the late 1970s. By 'getting on', I do not mean as personal friends, but rather that their relationship seemed to have all the classic hallmarks of the maja-European boss relationship in the earlier camps. B.Y. even called the Manager 'boss' (which had not happened to my knowledge with previous Managers) and he talked to me several times of the importance of "not letting the boss down". The Manager's wife once also remarked to me about how 'faithful' B.Y. was to them.

In other words, although there were problems generally in the missionaries being bosses, there certainly seemed to be a relationship between the maja of the dominant group in the mission and key Europeans which was boss-like in nature.

XI.4.3 Prospects for the mission as a centralized community.

The Kuku-Yalanji mobs at Bloomfield River Mission have been unequally affected by the forces for change brought about by the state-mission intervention complex. This is because of the characteristics of one mob, its relationship with the mission site and the surrounding country and its relationship, through certain key members, to focal representatives of the state-mission complex. This is a situation similar to the first mission at Bloomfield. There are other parallels too. Like the first mission, the modern one was administered from afar with little local determination of policy or action. Related to this, it was administered according to an externally evolved ideology which did not take into account any local contemporary or historical factors.

This ideology called for a centralized settlement which was supposed eventually to be turned into a European-style township. This centralization was in conflict with the Kuku-Yalanji forms of interaction with Europeans which had been in operation in SECYP for the previous eighty years. The apparent inability of the settlement to ever have anything approaching a self-sufficient economy or even any industry which could support it also did not bode well for a notion of it as a 'normal' town. The ideology was also based on the notion that Kuku-Yalanji culture and way of life had been destroyed and thus the only possible line of administration was the one of assimilation to European ways and 'training' in the skills necessary to get on in the larger Australian society. As in the early mission days, such notions were ones derived from the state but largely supported by the Church. The latter added the notion that the mission's and the Aboriginal problems would all be solved if only Kuku-Yalanji <u>as individuals</u> would embrace Christianity.

For the same reasons that I argued the first mission failed, to the extent that the new mission is based on the same principles, so too will it fail. The only problem here is that if this happens, Kuku-Yalanji will not have the same alternatives open to them which they had in 1902 - a return to the bush and to permanent associations with other Europeans. Further, the possibilities for Kuku-Yalanji out-migration to other settlements or areas are extremely limited. In any case, the failure of the mission would not result in its disbandment as it did at the turn of the century. Such a solution to its problems would be unlikely, partly for political reasons, partly because there would be nowhere for the residents to go and partly because the Aborigines themselves - especially those in the dominant mob - would be against the closure. Instead the internal social and economic problems of the mission settlement are likely to get worse.[13]

From 1979 or so there were serious attempts - at least at the mission Board level - to institute a new set of policies on which the mission at Bloomfield would be run. These policies were ones based on 'self-determination' or 'self-management'. As the president of the Lutheran Church in Queensland noted: "We must do all in our power to enable the people [of Bloomfield] to . . . be free of the total

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13. These are problems which I have documented elsewhere (Anderson 1982).

dependence on 'white' decision-making . . ." (Mayer 1979:1; see also Renner et al. 1978:29-31). This was a trend in line with the rest of northern Australia and with elsewhere in the ex-colonial world. It came about with the Bloomfield mission primarily due to personnel changes on the Mission Board and because of pressure from within the church itself. However, it too was largely an externally developed ideology and one not based on any knowledge of the local situation. Unless it is also combined with a recognition of the importance of mobs, the macrodomestic units, in Kuku-Yalanji society and a reversal of the rapid reduction of land access restrictions (in other words, decentralization of the mission), this policy will probably have no more success than the old one.

If my thesis is correct, even if these conditions are fulfilled, the importance which Kuku-Yalanji attribute to the fundamental role of boss - one which Europeans have fulfilled for Kuku-Yalanji mobs for the last hundred years and one which certain Kuku-Yalanji individuals, through both structurally-derived and achieved means, filled before that time - will prevent any widespread success of the self-management policies as they are presently defined. Furthermore, concepts of self-management seem vacuous in a settlement where most of the groups living there cannot hope ever to exert any real political influence or to gain substantially from the material benefits of the settlement. The argument of this thesis has been that this situation is due to more than the 100 years of policies, plans and practices of Europeans in SECYP.

XI.5 Conclusion.

In the previous chapter, I argued for the existence at the Bloomfield mission in the late 1970s of independent economic and social macrodomestic units which I termed mobs. I discussed the relative importance of residence (past and present), territorial affiliation, descent and kinship, and the role of particular individuals in the social definition of mobs. In the present chapter, I presented a summary of the major intervention complexes at Bloomfield in this period, and discussed in detail the dominant complex, made up of the Lutheran Church working in conjunction with the state. I demonstrated how this complex was represented by and operated through a number of Europeans who had certain boss-like traits. This was particularly the

case with the manager of the mission settlement. I discussed Kuku-Yalanji interaction with this complex by looking at the use by mobs and individuals within them of the Council, and at the other means used in mob competition for prestige and influence. In the final section above, I described some of the changes which have occurred because of the nature of the mission complex itself and because of the ways in which Kuku-Yalanji interacted with it.

My final task in this chapter is to specify more precisely, as a process of articulation, the nature of the interaction between the Aboriginal and European systems as shown in the above case study, and further, to compare this interaction with the previous phases of articulation described for SECYP.

I described the first period of articulation between the Aboriginal mode of production and European capitalism in SECYP as one characterised by changes in the forces of production in the Kuku-Yalanji system, but at the same time, by conservation and reinforcement of the existing Kuku-Yalanji relations of production, particularly those of domination. The second period of articulation was one in which, due to the way the Kuku-Yalanji camps developed and the use of European bosses as a means of dealing with the larger European system, Kuku-Yalanji structures were subordinated to the logic of that system. I noted that there were important changes in Kuku-Yalanji society which had their origins in this second period (e.g. the decline in authority and power of older men as a general category and a concurrent rise in status of younger men and women). My case study of the mission in the 1970s shows that there were important continuities with previous phases - particularly group organization, the role of individuals and the nature of the interaction with the European system. Yet because of these very continuities and due to the nature of the dominant intervention complex, there are suggestions of the emergence of a new articulation period. This period is one which may see the dissolution of the Aboriginal mode of production altogether.

However, my argument has been such that this dissolution will be an uneven process, in that all Kuku-Yalanji will not be equally affected. While the mode of production which is at the base of the nature of mob A and its reproduction is a restricted and a subordinate one (in the sense of Wolpe 1980:38), it nevertheless remains as a reality. This is both caused by and causes the domination of the contemporary mission by this

group and ensures ultimately the dissolution of both the groups and the mode of production they are based upon.

This third articulation period - of uneven dissolution - is one which as of this writing (1984) is an on-going one. The forces within it working towards dissolution primarily stem from contradictions between, on the one hand, the elements and functioning of the Aboriginal mode of production (as modified by the previous articulation periods) and, on the other, the involvement with and domination by the CMP through state-mission intervention. These contradictions include the continued existence of Kuku-Yalanji mobs and a tendency for them to attempt to retain separate identities, as well as the refusal of the state-mission complex to recognise these macrodomestic groups as important social and economic units. This latter is in line with assimilationist policy and with notions of 'community' and Christian 'brotherhood' and 'unity'. All policy and administrative practices are based on a central community supported by a type of political and other co-operation between groups and individuals which is fundamentally at odds with Kuku-Yalanji social reality. Another contradiction concerns bosses and mission policies. I have documented the tendency for Kuku-Yalanji in general and mobs in particular to form boss relationships with Europeans. This relationship had a solid pre-contact model, it was reinforced in the first articulation period and when switched to European individuals in the second articulation period, it initiated and fostered Aboriginal dependency in SECYP. Against this is the difficulty of the missionaries acting as bosses (due, apart from other things, to an inability and unwillingness to identify with particular mobs), while being structurally in a boss-type role. Yet a boss relationship does seem to be developing between at least the dominant group and the mission managers. This situation has been further complicated by policies brought in from 1979 onwards which stressed self-management and self-sufficiency. These are not based on any understanding of Kuku-Yalanji social and economic organization (stressing instead a community-based notion of management), and they also fail to recognise the previous forms of Kuku-Yalanji interaction with Europeans which were based on the boss institution.

These contradictions, combined with the problems arising from the radical changes to Kuku-Yalanji forces of production and the transformation which the relations of production are undergoing (even, I

think, in the dominant macrodomestic group in the settlement), have all contributed to a situation where it may soon be difficult to speak of an Aboriginal mode of production as any longer existing in SECYP. Further than this, instead of the planned assimilation into the European system at large, the outcome will be one of encapsulation through institutionalized dependency and of great social and personal difficulties for Kuku-Yalanji people as a whole.

PART 5: CONCLUSION

Chapter XII: Conclusion.

This thesis has described processes and events which have been and are part of a world-wide phenomenon, the expansion of capitalism into parts of the world where there are small-scale societies with non-industrial-based economies. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines, in examining the impact of this expansion, have generally assumed the effect to be one of dissolution of the indigenous systems. In this study I have not made such an assumption, and instead have taken the fact of contact and its ensuing patterns as problematic and as subject for analysis. My aim has been to understand how local social and economic systems are linked with larger-scale ones, partly to demonstrate that indigenous peoples have been associated for some time with world systems and thus, in that sense, are part of that history. In addition, my aim has been to show how local diversity and dynamics can alter the impact of relations with larger systems. To achieve these aims I have used concepts from historical materialist theory - most particularly, the concept of articulation. This theory presumes that there existed over some concrete period of time at least two socio-economic systems, each with elements interelated in a determined way and that these systems interacted in a particular fashion according to the nature of both systems and in a manner which can be seen to have distinct periods or phases. With such a theory I have shown, using the case study of one group of Aboriginal people in northern Australia, the effects of the linking of indigenous societies into the social and economic forces of national and world histories.

Several aspects of my argument require further comment. Firstly, there is the issue of the nature of the basic social and economic units in the pre-contact Aboriginal social formation. These units are those which I have called 'mobs'. I have retained the Aboriginal English label simply because the other labels in the Australian literature which I reviewed in Chapter II on group composition are unsatisfactory or inapt. Mobs are not bands or hordes, because they have continuity through time on grounds other than economic functionality; they are not local descent groups, as they always contain persons from several different descent lines; they are not families or extended families, as these are always recognisable as separate entities within mobs; mobs, while sharing the aspect of multiple-descent group composition, would

appear to be smaller than Meggitt's and Hiatt's 'communities'. The closest equivalent unit seems to be Thomson's (1933; 1939) and Stanner's (1933; 1934) 'camp'. Yet I have resisted using this because of its possible confusion of the group with its physical setting. The most appropriate way in which to think of the mobs as I have described them is in a slightly modified version of Sahlins' (1974) notion of domestic groups. The economy of what I have termed the macrodomestic group or mob represents the economy of the society as a whole, i.e., the essentials of the mode of production are seen within each domestic group. Sahlins' descriptions (p. 95) of domestic groups as 'units of self-concern' and as being 'functionally unco-ordinated' and politically sovereign with the 'unity of society' being sacrificed to 'the autonomy of its producing groups' are particularly apt for mobs in Aboriginal Australia. The independence of mobs is perhaps best seen in their articulation with non-Aboriginal systems, and in fact,it is the resulting independence of effect which makes it difficult to generalise about when one articulation period ends and another one begins as this may vary from group to group.

Another issue is the question of whether these macrodomestic units so central to the Aboriginal political economy have remained the same throughout the several articulation periods. While I have said that some have become extinct and others have been maintained, is it the case that the nature of the latter has remained constant? Or have they changed character depending on the nature of the relations of production in which they are involved with Europeans? Further investigation into the future of the various mobs which I have described in the last two chapters and others in similar settings elsewhere may aid in the understanding of this problem.

Also, if, as Chapter XI predicts, the macrodomestic mode of production in SECYP ultimately and wholly disappears (as opposed to merely being restricted or subordinated), how then do we analyse or understand the position of Aborigines in the Australian economy? With welfare agency intervention and very little Aboriginal involvement in 'normal' or mainstream economic activity in Australian, what then is the position of Aborigines within capitalist relations of production? What are the new relevant social and economic units? It may turn out that we need new conceptual and analytical tools to specify this position and to explain its relationship with other aspects of Aboriginal life today.

A point of departure from much of the literature with my analysis of the macrodomestic groups in the Aboriginal social formation is the stress I place on the role of individuals in the composition of groups. In doing so, I follow recent findings from elsewhere in Cape York Peninsula (von Sturmer 1978; Sutton 1978; Sutton & Rigsby 1982; Chase 1980), building on concepts from Lesser (1961), Barth (1966) and Boissevain (1968). This work stresses that individuals not only operate within the constraints of structure, they also manipulate, create and break the elements of that structure. Part of my aim in using concrete case studies and treading the line between individual or group biographies and wholly abstract structural description has been to demonstrate just this fact. An important related notion here is that the discrepancy between ideology and behaviour, which is common in all societies, varies considerably for different individuals and I have argued that this is the case not merely because of structural factors. With respect to individuals, an important point which remains is that, as with the nature of mobs, we need to discover whether the role of bosses, for instance, has remained constant during articulation or whether it too has changed character according to the form of Aboriginal interaction with European systems. In the new mission setting, 'bosses' for many Kuku-Yalanji have become depersonalized and abstracted as agencies. Intervention complexes are no longer being defined for Aborigines only through key, local Europeans.

A second area on which I wish to comment is that of the notion of capitalist mode of production and my use of the concept of intervention complex. One of the problems with much of the Marxian-inspired work focusing on recent changes in indigenous societies is that capitalism is assumed to be an analytically unproblematic monolith with uniform and predictable effects. Further, policy, legislation and state action are also often seen as inevitably working in the interests of capital. In my analysis of the social formation existing in north Queensland from 1880 onwards, I have not utilised the abstract notion of a capitalist mode of production, but rather I have chosen to examine concrete instances of intervention, albeit driven ultimately by the expansion of capital. This allows us to maintain the focus on micro-processes, while still keeping in mind the larger structures. The other advantage is that such an approach has allowed me to explore, as in the analysis of the indigenous system, the role of individuals and of social action in

the broader capitalist penetration process.

However, one problem with the notion of intervention complex in this thesis is that I have not had space to examine systematically or in detail the relationship between elements in each complex and between the latter and the capitalist mode of production in abstract terms. I have dwelt at considerable length on the 'logic' of the Aboriginal response to the differing forms of European activity in SECYP, but have said rather less about the logic of the interventions. What are their essential regularities? Is there any specific pattern to the sequences of interventions or does this relate to the 'unfolding' of capitalism generally? It may be that some interventions create conditions under which subsequent interventions are possible and others are not. These are issues which will need to be considered in future studies using this concept.

A further problem lies in my discussion of the relationship between the state intervention complexes and the others. I have not been able to say a great deal about how and why policy shifts have occurred. The reasons for welfare interventions, particularly in the late nineteenth century and in the 1950s and 1960s, and the moves toward so-called self-management polices in the 1980s, need to be investigated and analysed in theoretical terms more than I have done in the present thesis.

Finally, a few words about articulation. For me in this thesis, articulation has meant change; it also constitutes the substance of history. With a concentration on articulation (which by definition takes into account the effects of the internal dynamics of whatever systems involved), there is no need for discussion of a 'new history', social history or, in Australia, of a separate 'Aboriginal history'. As we have seen, however, articulation does not mean continuous or constant change. The SECYP data supports, I suggest, Rey's notion of the periodicity of articulation and I have argued that at least two and possibly three periods are apparent from 1880 to 1980. However, I should reiterate the problems of giving precise temporal boundaries to the periods. It is difficult to say exactly when subordination as a period of articulation begins and conservation ends and, similarly, when subordination ends and dissolution begins. As I noted above, this is partly because this may vary from one group to another in the same area and at the same time. The independence of macrodomestic groups in the Aboriginal social formation and the varying local effects of the

different forms of capitalist endeavour, state activites, etc. all make generalization about temporal boundaries difficult. This is particularly the case with the post-World War Two period.

A basic assumption with articulation is that the local or indigenous mode of production or elements of it remain intact (if altered) through certain periods in the process of articulation. One can ask the question, then, of why this is the case, and why, as was the case in many parts of the world, dissolution was not the immediate outcome of European capitalist expansion in SECYP. There are a number of related reasons. Firstly, the lack of major resources apart from cedar and tin, a lack of flat, arable land and transport difficulties all made capitalist penetration only partial. Secondly, as I have argued in Chapter VI, the dominance of SECYP by tin-mining with its particular relations of production and land use patterns played a major role in the maintenance process. Thirdly, Aboriginal labour was needed, if only for some types of work and at certain times. Shortages of European labour and the low cost and availability of Aboriginal labour made it attractive to small-scale European enterprise. (Except in the marine-industries, however, Aboriginal labour was never critical enough for this factor to account wholly for the maintenance of traditional structures). Fourthly, the nature of the prexisting Aboriginal socio-economic system with its internal dynamics was also an important factor in its own continued existence after contact. Finally, I would not maintain that we can speak about a whole and separate mode of production in either the conservation or the subordination periods. The forces of production which operated in the pre-1880 social formation were very rapidly altered or destroyed (see Chapter VI). I argue, in line with Rey (1971; 1973), that the existence of a mode of production is characterized not by its forces of production, but by the existence of particular relations of production and, specifically, by particular relations of dominance.[1]

One problematic issue remains with the notion of articulation. It is the status of the concept of culture. If we speak of the dissolution of a mode of production, do we also necessarily have to speak of the destruction of 'a culture' or of defining cultural elements? Most

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1. Wolpe's (1980:34-42) distinction between restricted and extended concepts of a mode of production is relevant here too.

anthropologists would find it difficult to accept a simple culture loss and accompanying proletarianization argument. Discussion of the relationship between the concept of culture as anthropologists might define it and a mode of production analysis in the more strict Marxist tradition is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is an issue which will need to be considered in future applications of Marxist concepts to 'culture contact' settings.

What are the implications of such a study as the present one for the analysis of small-scale societies and their relations with larger, dominant systems? Firstly, studies must take the expansion of world capitalism as an important assumption and as part of their subject matter. It is largely this process which has made most, if not all, tribal societies part of world history for at least some hundred years. Secondly, the assumption cannot be made that dissolution of indigenous systems is an automatic consequence of the appearance of capitalist relations and forces. On the other hand, neither is conservation always the case. A focus on articulation allows a look at the systematic interconnections within a social formation and grants the effects of the internal dynamics of local systems.

APPENDIX A

Archival and other unpublished sources.

Queensland State Archives.

- Correspondence to and from the office of the Colonial Secretary in Brisbane; especially files Col/A 481, Col/A 487, Col/A 488, Col/A 492, Col/A 497, Col/A 501, Col/A 575, Col/A 630, Col/A 675, Col/132, Col/139, Col/140, Col/142, Col/144.
- Aboriginal Employment Register for Cooktown.
- Aboriginal Occurence Book (POA 13/1).
- Department of Public Lands, Lands Reserve File #86-69 (Bloomfield).
- Clerk of Petty Sessions Records, Cooktown (CPS 13E/9(G)).
- Cooktown Mining Warden Claims Register, Mineral Claims Book No. 2, Re-entries for old claims. Nos. 1A-90.

Queensland Department of Mines records.

- Department of Mines, Annual Reports.
- Queensland Geological Survey Publications and Reports.

Queensland Parliament Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings.

- Reports of Hann (1873), Meston (1896), Parry-Okeden (1897).
- Annual Reports of Northern Protector of Aborigines (W.E. Roth 1899-1903; King 1904; R.B. Howard 1906, 1910).

Lutheran Church of Australia Archives, Adelaide South Australia.

- Archive 312-513 U.E.L.C.A., Box 1 Bloomfield Mission Correspondence 1886-1901 (fomerly Archive B833); Box 7 File and Correspondence 1953-7; Box 10 Correspondence C. Hartwig 1959-61; Box 13 (312-516) Correspondence 1961-64; Box 17 U.E.L.C.A. B807; Box 16; Box 18;
  Some of these files were translated by Mrs L. Mathew of James Cook University, Townsville for Dr N. Loos, also of JCU for his work, Loos (1982). I am indebted to him for permission to use the translations.
- Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und uber Nordamerika, Australien und Neu-Guinea. (KM) Neuendettlesau, 1886-1907.
- Deutsche Kirchen und Missions Zeitung. (KMZ) Tanunda, South Australia, 1885-1917. I am indebted to Mrs Heidi Kirsch for translation of some of the above material.

Bloomfield River State Primary School Archives.

- Various correspondence, 1951-1969.

University of Queensland Anthropology Museum.

- W.E. Roth, North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins Nos. 1-8 Brisbane, Government Printer. Bound copy from Hamlyn-Harris collection with handwritten corrections by W.E. Roth.

Elkin Collection, Sydney University.

- A.R.N.C., Box 6, Research workers: applications, correspondence., etc. (U. H. McConnel file); Box 4, Reports for July 1930 - June 1931 (McConnel correspondence with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown); Contact, Box 6.
  I am indebted to Professors Peter Elkin and Peter Lawrence for permission to examine material in this collection while it was being catalogued, and to Ms Jenny Laycock for help in locating material.

C.A. Hartwig.

- 'Bloomfield River Mission 1957-1970'. Unpublished MS, Mapleton, Queensland. Mr Hartwig kindly gave me a copy of this manuscript and gave me permission to use material from it.

Hope Vale-Wujalwujal Mission Board, Brisbane, Queensland.

- Minutes of the Board meetings, 1980-1984.
- Documents relating to the Board re-structuring sub-committee, 1978 - 1983.
- Minutes of the Advisory Group to the Lutheran Church of Australia - Queensland on Aboriginal matters, 1983-1984.
- Kirsch, K.H., Report on Wujalwujal. June-July 1979.
- The Lutheran Church of Australia, Queensland District and the Australian Aborigine, Document tabled at Board meeting 18/3/82.
- Report of Hope Vale - Bloomfield - Cooktown Visitation, Report with recommendations. Submitted by H.P.V. Renner, K.H. Kirsch and G. Rose 11-29 June, 1978.
  I am grateful to Pastor I.L. Roennfeldt (former Chairman, Hope Vale Mission Board), Mr G. Rose (Chairman, Hope Vale-Wujalwujal Mission Board), Pastor K.H. Kirsch (Secretary, Hope Vale-Wujalwujal Mission Board) and Pastor H.P.V. Renner, (Vice-President, L.C.A.-Qld. District) for access to the above material.

APPENDIX B

Persons directly cited in text as oral sources.

Mr Jimmy Ball

Wujalwujalwarra (patriclan). Burringujur (bushname). Born ca. 1922, Bloomfield River. Son of Charlie Ball, a boss of the Dikarr camp (Thompson Creek). Resident Bloomfield River Mission (BRM) 1984.

Mrs Lizzie Big Jack

Mukumukuwarra. Jilbimun. Born ca. 1881, Helenvale. Wife of Big Jack of Buru camp (China Camp). Resident BRM 1977-80; resident Hope Vale Mission as of 1982.

Mr Charlie Collins

Muwarra. Burrikari. Born ca. 1900, Balabay. Worked on lugger boats from 1919. Sent to Barambah Settlement in 1923. I interviewed him in 1980 at his home at the Cherbourg community, southeast Queensland.

Mrs Ruby Friday

Ngulungkabanwarra. Born ca. 1937, Rossville. Spent most of childhood at Kuna (Shipton's Flat) camps. Resident Jajikal camp in 1960s. Resident BRM as of 1982.

Mr Clarrie Hartwig

European/Australian. Carpenter Hope Vale Mission, 1949-1953. Lay missionary and Superintendent, Bloomfield River, 1957-1970. Resident Mapleton, Queensland. I interviewed him and his wife, Olive Hartwig on 22/11/82.

Mr Hank Hershberger

Mrs Ruth Hershberger

European/American. Summer Institute of Linguistics Bible translators and linguists. Resident at Jajikal and BRM since 1960.

Mr Billy King

Mulujinwarra. Born ca. 1915, Bloomfield River. Lived at both Dikarr and Buru. Was tin-miner and worked on luggers. Father's father was Kalkamanagu, boss of Dikarr. Resident BRM as of 1982.

Mr Billy Mapoon

Balabaywarra. Ngubun. Born ca. 1900, Banabila. Worked extensively on boats. Father, Olbar, was boss of camp. Lived at Banabila until 1969, then moved to Middle Camp. Died 1982.

Mrs Mabel Morse

Balabaywarra. Jubuy. Born ca. 1905, Bailey's Creek south of Bloomfield River on coast. Sister of Billy Mapoon. Worked as domestic for Collins family at property on south side of Bloomfield River. Died 1982.

Mr Oscar Olufson

European/Australian. Born ca. 1905, Bloomfield River. Grandson of first European settler to Bloomfield in late 1870s. He and his family ran the store at Bloomfield from 1924 to 1976 on their property near the Granite Creek-Bloomfield River junction, distributed rations to Aborigines. Olufsons also mined tin, ran a farm. Resident Bloomfield River as of 1982.

Mr Jack Roberts

European/Australian. Born ca. 1915, Shipton's Flat. Grew up in close contact with Kuku-Nyungkul speaking people at the Annan River camps. Tin-miner and farmer. Guide for various Museum expeditions to area. Died 1981.

Mr Charlie Tayley

Green Hill area, south of Cooktown. Born ca. 1920, McIvor River. Kuku-Bidiji speaker. Worked as stockman for stations all over southeast and central CYP. Head stockman BRM until death in 1983.

Mr Harry Turner

Bulbanwarra. Yari. Born ca. 1923, Mossman. Father's father, Wulbar, was Ursula McConnel's main informant for Bloomfield work. Father, Tiger Tableland, is mentioned in Idriess (1980 [1959]). Worked as stockman in SECYP. Spent some time on Palm Island. Died BRM 1982.

Mrs Ivy Walker

Wujalwujalwarra. Born ca. 1934, Bloomfield River. Mother was Nellie Yerrie and mother's father was Kalkamanangu. Lived Dikarr. Died BRM

1981.

Mr John Walker

Jirarakuwarra. Mabi. Born ca. 1917, Rossville. Lived most of early life at Shipton's Flat. (See Chapter VI for work history.) Grandson of Bluja King. Husband of Ivy Walker. Chairman of BRM Council 1977, 1978, 1979.

Mrs Mabel Webb

Chillagoe-side. Dabukurukuru. Born China Camp, ca. 1919. Sent from Mossman to Palm Island with husband and children in late 1930s, returned to Bloomfield in late 1960s. Daughter of Nellie Yerrie. Resident BRM as of 1984.

Mr Bob Yerrie

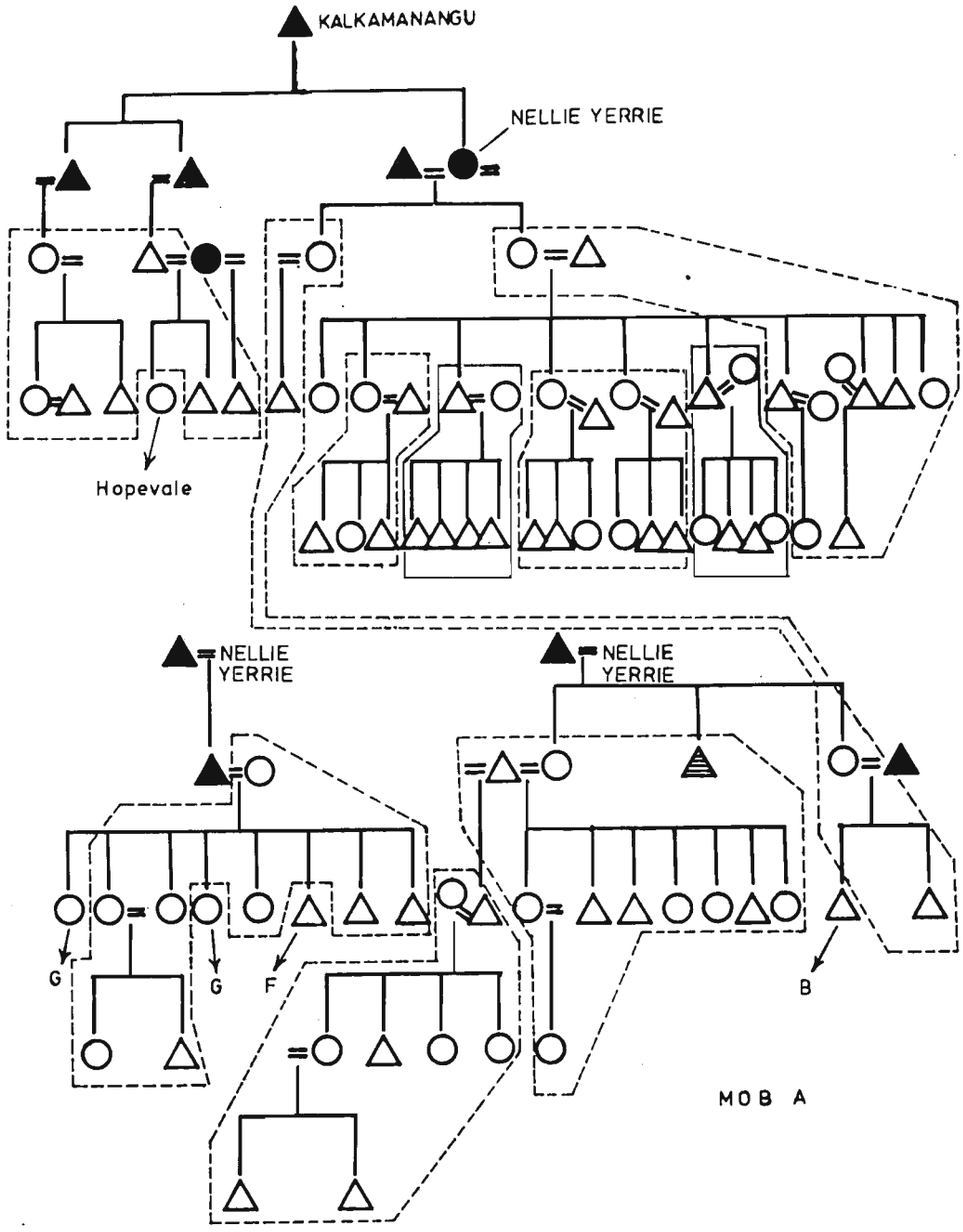
Wujalwujalwarra. Born ca. 1939, Bloomfield River. Lived Dikarr and Buru. Son of Nellie Yerrie. Member of BRM Council, 1977-80, 1982. Resident BRM, 1984.

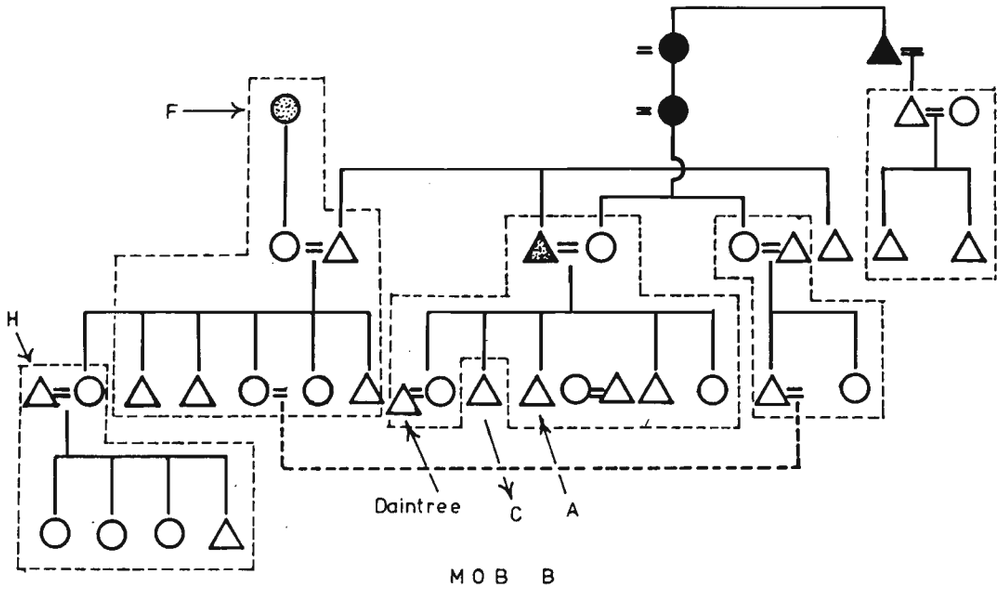
Mr Youngaman Yougie

Bulbanwarra. Born ca. 1917, Chapman's Forge near China Camp. Worked as tin-miner all over SECYP. Wife is Dolly Yougie, daughter of Nellie Yerrie. Lived Dikarr in 1960s. Resident BRM, 1984.

APPENDIX C.

Mobs and households at Bloomfield River Mission, late 1970s. (Focal individuals dotted)





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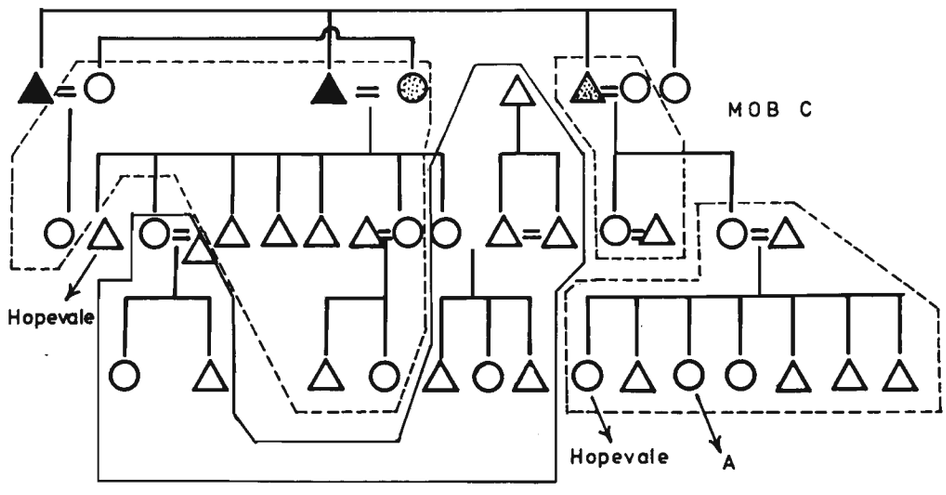

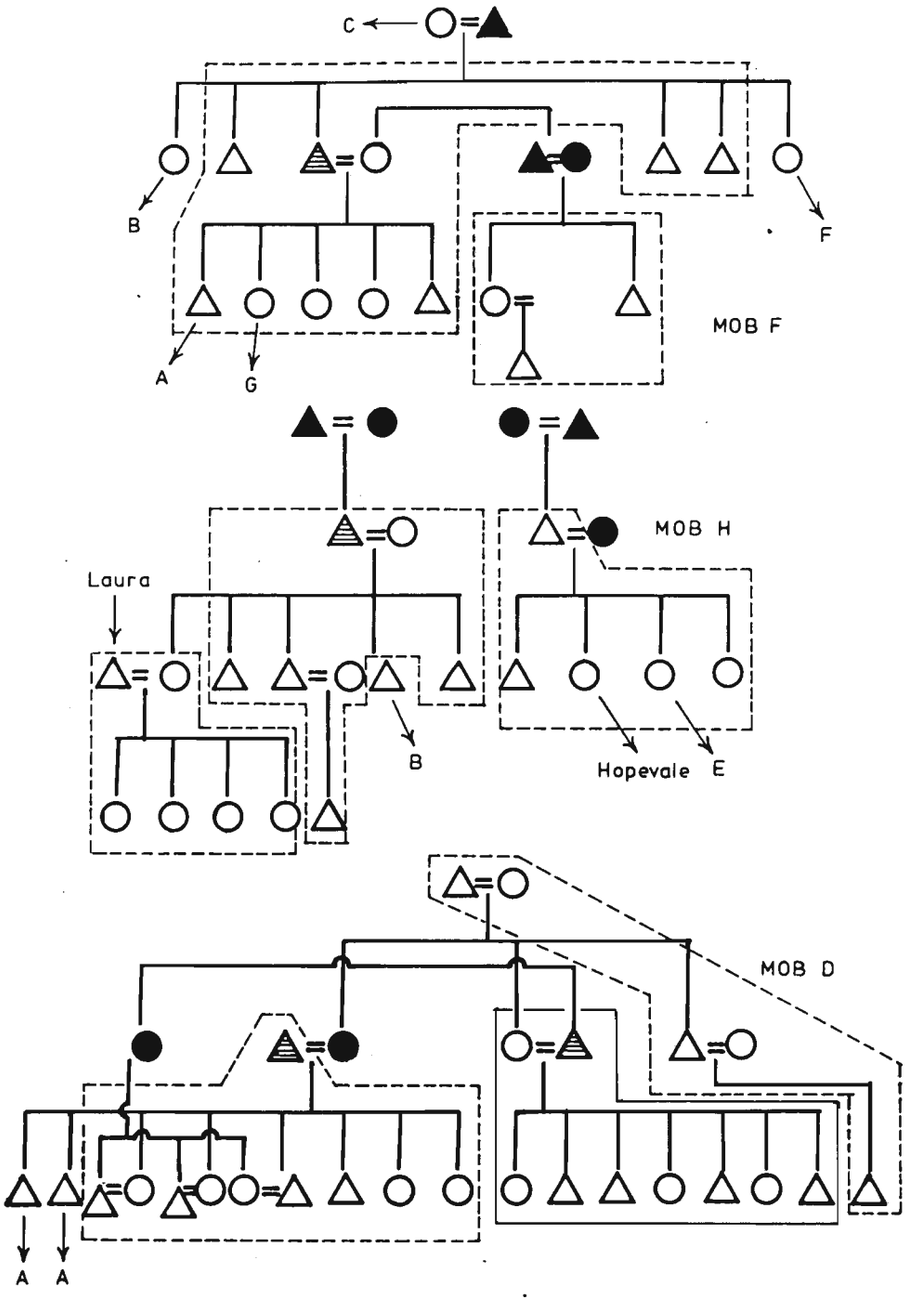
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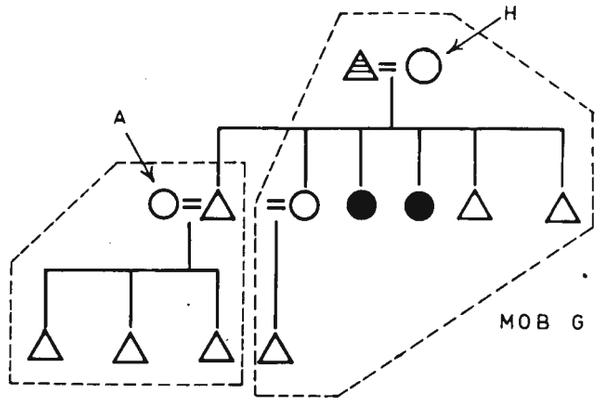
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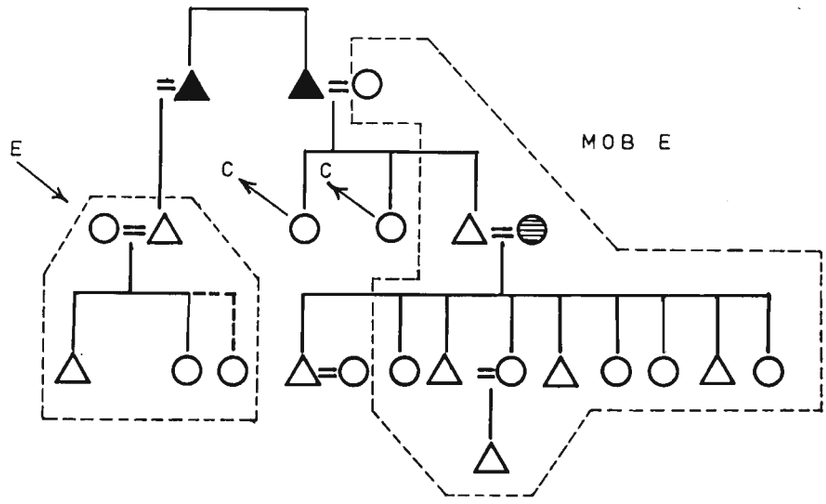
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